

*Saducismus Triumphatus*  
OR,  
Full and Plain EVIDENCE  
Concerning  
**WITCHES**  
AND  
APPARITIONS.

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In Two PARTS.

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The First treating of their  
**POSSIBILITY;**  
The Second of their  
**Real Existence.**

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By *Joseph Glanvil*, late Chaplain in Ordinary  
to His Majesty, and Fellow of the Royal Society.

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**The Third Edition.**

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The Advantages whereof above the former, the  
Reader may understand out of Dr *H. More's* Ac-  
count prefixed thereunto.

With two Authentick, but wonderful Stories of certain *Swedish*  
*Witches*; done into *English* by *Anth. Horneck*, D.D.

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London, Printed for *S. Lownds* at his Shop by the  
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Left  
T.S. Williams

A631415

*John Salmon's Book*

*John Salmon his Book*

THE  
PUBLISHER  
TO THE  
READER.

READER,

**T**HAT thou hast no sooner enjoyed this long expected Edition, thou canst not justly blame either the Author or my self. Not my self, for I could not publish the Book before I had it; nor the Author, because many unexpected occasions drove off his Mind to other matters, and interrupted him in his present design, insomuch that he was snatcht away by Death before he had quite finished it. But though the learned World may very well lament the loss of so able and ingenious a Writer, yet as to this present point, if that may mitigate thy sorrow, in all likelihood this Book had not seen the light so soon if he had lived, so many emergent occasions giving him new interruption, and offering him new temptations to further delay.

Indeed it had been desirable that it might have had the polishing of his last hand, as the peruser of his Papers signifies in his last Advertisement. But to compensate this loss, the said Peruser, a Friend as well

## The PUBLISHER

*to his Design as to his Person, has digested those Materials he left, into that order and distinctness, and has so tied things together, and supplied them in his Advertisements, that, to the judicious Reader, nothing can seem wanting that may serve the ends of his intended Treatise. Not to intimate what considerable things are added, more than it is likely had been, if he had finished it himself: For, besides the Advertisements of the careful Peruser of his Papers, and those two notable late Stories of the Swedish Witches, translated out of German into the English Tongue, there is also added a short Treatise of the true and genuine Notion of a Spirit, taken out of Dr. More's Enchiridion Metaphysicum, to entertain those that are more curious searchers into the nature of these things.*

*The Number also of the Stories are much increased above what was designed by Mr. Glanvil, though none admitted, but such as seemed very well attested and highly credible to his abovesaid Friend, and such, as rightly understood, contain nothing but what is consonant to right Reason and sound Philosophy, as I have heard him earnestly avouch, though it had been too tedious to have explained all; and it may be more grateful to the Reader to be left to exercise his own wit and ingenie upon the rest. These are the advantages this Edition of Mr. Glanvil's Dæmon of Tedworth, and his Considerations about Witchcraft have, above any Edition before, though the last of them was so bought up, that there was not a Copy of them to be had in all London and Cambridge, but the Peruser of his Papers was fain to break his own to serve the Press with; If these intimations may move  
thy*



## to the READER.

*thy Appetite to the reading so pleasant and useful & Treatise.*

*And yet I can add one thing more touching the story of the Dæmon of Tedworth, which is very considerable. It is not for me indeed to take notice of that meanness of spirit in the Exploders of Apparitions and Witches, which very strangely betrayed it self in the decrying of that well-attested Narrative touching the Stirs in Mr Mompesson's House. Where, although they that came to be spectators of the marvelous things there done by some invisible Agents, had all the liberty imaginable (even to the ripping of the Bolsters open) to search and try if they could discover any natural cause or cunning Artifice whereby such strange feats were done; and numbers that had free access from day to day, were abundantly satisfied of the reality of the thing, that the House was haunted and disturbed by Dæmons or Spirits; yet some few years after the Stirs had ceased, the truth of this story lying so uneasie in the minds of the disgusters of such things, they raised a Report, (when none of them, no not the most diligent and curious could detect any trick or fraud themselves in the matter) that both Mr. Glanvil himself, who published the Narrative, and Mr. Mompesson, in whose House these wonderful things happened, had confessed the whole matter to be a Cheat and Imposture. And they were so diligent in spreading abroad this gross untruth, that it went current in all the three Kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland. An egregious discovery of what kind of Spirit this sort of Men are! which, as I said, though it be not for me to take notice of, yet I will not stick to signifie (it being both for mine own Interest, and the*

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Interest



## The PUBLISHER, &c.

*Interest of Truth) that those reports raised touching Mr. Glanvil and Mr. Mompesson, are by the present Edition of this Book demonstrated to be false to all the World. That concerning Mr. Glanvil, by his Preface to the second Part of the Book, That touching Mr. Mompesson, by two Letters of his own, the one to Mr. Glanvil, the other to Mr. James Collins, which are subjoined to the said Preface: Which thing alone may justly be deemed to add a very great weight to the value, as of that Story, so of this present Edition.*

*But I will not, Reader, upon pretence of exciting thy Appetite, keep thee from the satisfying it by an overlong Preface. I shall therefore add nothing more, but that I am*

Your humble Servant,

S. L.

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AN  
ACCOUNT  
OF THE  
SECOND EDITION  
OF  
Saducismus Triumphatus.

**T**HE former Edition of *Saducismus Triumphatus*, an Account thereof is given by the *Publisher* to the *Reader*, where you may understand what great advantages that Edition of Mr. *Glanvil's Considerations about Witchcraft*, and his *Story of the Demon of Tedworth*, has above any former Editions of them. And now, Reader, as for this present Edition, I think it not amiss to acquaint thee, as briefly as I may, what advantages this has above the former.

First therefore, there is added to the First Part thereof, *An Answer to a Letter of a Learned Psychopryist*, that is, of a Philosopher that holds all *Created Spirits* to be a kind of more pure and subtile Fire in some sence or other. Wherein this Controversie is punctually debated, and the true Nature of a *Spirit* more fully and convincingly cleared, against all the pretences of the *Psychopryists* of what *Classes* soever, (provided they be still *Psycho-hylists*, and make *Spirits* only a more pure and subtile Matter) as before of the *Halenmerians* and *Nullibists*.

*bists*. 'Tis true, I have not Published the *Psychopyrist's* Letter entirely together, to be read at once, but I have by piece-meal faithfully interferted it, as I make Answer to it: And so far I presumed without consulting the mind of the Writer thereof. For I finding the Letter a close and well compacted account of that way of Philosophizing touching Spirits, and to have given as good a Gloss of the Doctrine, as the thing is capable of, I was resolved to take this opportunity to clear the business. And therefore considering that possibly, the Writers shyness and modesty might not assent to the Publishing of *that*, which his better Judgment and Sence of the common good, might approve of, when once Published; I have for the good of the Publick communicated it to the World, without acquainting him with my design. And I hope the greatest *Hypercritick* in *Morality*, will not be able to find any flaw in the omission of such a Ceremony to an Anonymous Person, (noted only by the Title of *Psychopyrist*, in the most refined sence that debars him not from being a *Psycho-hylist*) for an end so good, and of so great importance.

For assuredly it is of main importance, that we have a true genuine and consistent Notion of the Nature of a *Spirit*, and such as will not beget a misbelief of their Existence in such as consider it. As I must confess, I think that the Notion of the *Nullibists* and that of the *Holenmerians*, with any one that thinks freely with himself, naturally does. Whose Opinions therefore, in my *Discourse of the true Notion of a Spirit*, I made it my business fully and clearly to confute. So that my Notion of a *Spirit* had no Competitor left, saving this of the *Psychopyrists* or the *Psycho-hylists*. Which besides that it is *Erroneous*, I find also to be *useless* or rather *hurtful*, it declaring the Nature of a *Created Spirit* to be such as is inconsistent with the *Perceptive Functions*, and a *lasting Personality*, as I have intimated in my Answer to the *Psychopyrists*. Nothing in a Philosophical way can support the *Psychopyrists* belief of *Spirits*, but only the meer  
History



History of them, his Notion of them, if more closely sifted, undermining that belief. But that true Notion of a Spirit in general, which I have exhibited to the World, does not only in a Philosophical way assisted with History, further our assurance of the *Existence* of *Spirits*, and the *Immortality* of our own *Souls*, but makes the grand Myſteries of our Religion, ſuch as the *Trinity* of the *Godhead*, and *Divinity* of Chriſt ſit more eaſie in our minds. Inſomuch that a Foreign *Socinian*, whoſe name is famous in that Sect, ingenuouſly confeſſed to me a long time ago, that if he could but attain to the conception of an *Immaterial Subſtance*, he could eaſily be of my mind in all points; that is, he could very eaſily quit his *Socinianiſm*. Whence it is manifeſt, of what *vaſt* conſequence it is to offer ſuch a Notion of *Immaterial Subſtance*, or *Spirit*, as is eaſily conceivable, nor is hoyſted up into the contradictory Sublimities of *Nullibiſm* and *Holenmerianiſm*, nor let flag, as that of the *Pſychopyrifts* or *Pſychohyliſts* does, ſo low, as to ſink into real *Materialiſm*, which is utterly inconfiſtent with the Myſtery of the *Trinity*, and indeed with the *Exiſtence* of a *God*. And therefore this Addition made to the *Fiſt Part of Saduciſmus Triumphatus*, ought to make the ſecond Impreſſion thereof conſiderably more valuable.

The Style of this *Answer*, I muſt confeſs, may haply make it to ſome Readers the leſs grateful, but the *Letter* it ſelf being in ſuch a *Scholaſtick* Style, it was natural for me to follow it in my *Answer*. Nor ought either to offend any one, if they will but remember that there are *Terms of Art* belonging to all *Professions*, and what abundance of ſuch there are in *Law*, in *Phyſick*, and *Chymiſtry*, and many other *Arts* and *Faculties*, that cannot but ſeem *Gibberish* to thoſe that are not acquainted with thoſe Studies. And therefore they are not to think it ſtrange, if in a *Scholaſtick* Controverſie they meet with ſome Phraſes that are only uſual in the *Schools*.

Secondly, I have made a brief *Continuation* of the former *Collection*,



*Collection*, consisting of six remarkable true Stories, all of them fresh enough, but some of them of things happening within these two or three years. So that they that are diffident and curious may satisfy themselves upon the spot, of the truth of Matter of Fact, by sufficient Witnesses.

Thirdly, I have added Mr. *Glanvil's* Letter written to my self, wherein he answers to nine or ten, partly *Objections*, partly *Queries*, sent to him from me, touching the Stirs of the *Damon* of *Tedworth* at Mr. *Mompesson's* House, and makes several smart and judicious *Reflections* on *Drollery* and *Atheism*. Upon which Letter I have made some pretty large *Advertisements*, and touching such things, as I thought it of no small concern, for Men seriously to consider.

Fourthly, Besides that the Learned Doctor *Anthony Horneck* has made his Preface to the Narrative of the *Swedish* Witchcraft more correct and full, he has added a new *Narrative* from *Swedeland* of a marvellous strange effect of Witchcraft, to that he Published before.

And lastly, There is yet one advantage more of the Second Edition of *Saducismus Triumphatus* above the First, in that my Letter to Mr. *Glanvil* prefixt before the Book, is freed from a Mistake that went glib with it before. Indeed the Letter was Re-printed before the Mistake was discovered, so that it could not be *expunged*, but yet this *caution* given touching it, is equivalent to an *expunction*. The Mistake is this, A certain Party (who shall be nameless for me, it being so little for his credit) that transmitted Mr. *Smart's* Testimony to Mr. *Shepherdson* touching the Tryal of *Sharp* and *Walker* at *Durham* Assizes, drew up (whether out of overmuch officiousness to Mr. *Shepherdson*, or that he would convey a *dead Fly* into the *Box of Ointment*, I will not be so curious as to enquire) drew up, I say, a Form that is not true. Mr. *Shepherdson* desiring that Party to take the Testimony only of such as were grown Men then, when the Assizes was, took it for granted that *Smart* was  
then

then such, whenas he was but a Boy then, and besides, which is yet worse, that Affirmation of Mr. *Fairhair* his giving it in Evidence upon Oath that he saw a likeness of a Child stand upon *Walker's* Shoulders during the time of the Trial dwindles away into no more than this, That he heard such a thing was true. Which is but a faint business.

What the meaning of that nameless Party was in giving such false Information, I cannot peremptorily conclude, but if it was to convey a dead Fly into the Box of Ointment, as I said above, my declaring the thing thus to all the World, will more than defeat his design. For this solitary Mistake in the matter of the whole being thus freely and ingenuously acknowledged, it will instead of a *dead Fly* in the Box of Ointment, prove only *Nevus in Venere*, a meer Beauty-spot in a Face of a good Feature and sound and fair Complexion. For there has been all Moral diligence used, that nothing should be admitted that was any ways suspected, or exceptionable, as you may understand by the *Advertisements*, which have discovered whatever flaw might seem to occur in any of the *Narrations*, and offered satisfaction touching the same, leaving the matter to the free Judgment of the Reader. And so soon as my worthy Friend Doctor *J. Davis*, by being lately in the North, and speaking with the Parties, had discovered to me this Mistake, I was impatient till I rectified it in the second Edition.

But as he found out the vacillancy of this Testimony, so by being there, he was able the more fully to assure me of the firmness of Mr. *Lumley's* Testimony, which Mr. *Shepherdson* took from his own Mouth, and had his hand subscribed accordingly as is set down, which sufficiently supports the main of this Narration concerning the appearing of *Anne Walker's* Ghost, after her death to the Miller. And is a Story of such indubitable Truth, that there is nothing, as he observed, of Matter of Fact in the North within the memory of Man, more universally

fally acknowledged than it. So that the expunction of *James Smart's* Testimony is no detriment to the Cause, nor the use so considerable. Which was only in its being an instance of *some seeing a Spirit, when other By-standers see it not*: which so often occurs in History, that we can well let this go for nothing, there being from other instances an abundant supply. And therefore I declare that this Instance of *Mr. Fairhair*, wherever it occurs in my Writings, that I would have it stand for a *misplaced Cypher*, that adds nothing to the number, nor is of any value at all.

Since my Writing this, and my coming hither to *London*, I have unexpectedly discovered another mistake, which not being in the body of any Story, but in the mere Title, scarce amounts to so much as a *Navus*. It is in *Relat. XXIV.* where I put in the Title *Mr. Andrew Paschal's* name; and make the Scene of the Transactions his Mothers House in *London* in *Soper-Lane*, as if he had been the eye-witness of the things there set down, when as he only had the Narrative, but withal, all desirable satisfaction of the truth of it, from another, who was the real Eye-witness thereof, *viz. Mr. J. Newberrie*, one of his own Colledge, whose Father and Mother lived at or near *Maydenhead*, not far from *Windsor*. But I finding this Story in my Study, which was written with *Mr. Paschal's* own hand, and it being told so as from an Eye-witness present at the Stirs, but his name omitted in the Story, and it ever going under *Mr. Paschal's* name with us as often as we have had occasion to speak of it, I took it for granted he was the Eye-witness thereof, and finding the place not named, I enquired here of his Brother, a very civil and obliging person, where their Family lived about twenty years ago; and understanding it was in *Soper-Lane* in *London*, I thought then my Story was complete in due circumstance of place as well as of time, I taking for granted that *Mr. Paschal* was the Eye-witness of those Transactions. Which are so punctually set down in the Narrative that not one syllable is to be altered



altered therein for this mistake. But onely in the Title, Mr *John Newberie* is to be put for Mr *Andrew Paschal*, and *Maydenhead*, or some place thereabout for *Soper-Lane* in *London*. So that that Narrative being a Record made by a careful and diligent Eye-witness (as Mr *Paschal* knew Mr *Newberie* to be, and the frame of the Narrative discovers as much) it is yet as firm, and convictive to any ordinary Reader, as if Mr *Paschal* had been the Eye-witness, and the Title had needed no alteration.

That Flaw in *Smart's* Testimony, and this Mistake in the Party and Place in the XXIV. *Relat.* thus readily have I acknowledged according to that faithfulness I hold myself obliged to in matters of this nature. But there is also an Exception which I heard of, (and it is the only exception against any of the substance of the Relations, which I have met with since they were Published) touching the Story of the appearing of *Edward Avon* to *Thomas Goddard*, *Relat.* IX. as if it had been since discovered that some Waggish Fellow that was like *Edward Avon* in Feature, had imposed upon *Goddard*, and made him believe he was his Father-in-Law's Ghost. Which is so fond a device, that saving that I would conceal nothing, I should be ashamed to mention it. For (1.) it is easie to consider how improbable it is, that one Man should be so exquisitely like another in Features, Age, and Statures, as not to be discerned by one that had the perfect form of his deceased Friend in his mind, to differ from him, or not to be him. Here therefore, I demand of the Raiser of this Report, where, and before whom of those that perfectly knew Old *Avon*, have they produced this Man, that is pretended to be so like him, or did they ever shew him to *Tho. Goddard* himself? (2.) Let this Man produced tell from whom he got the same Cloths, Hat, Stockings and Shoes that *Avon* wore when he was alive, or what Taylor and other Artists made him such? (3.) How many else did this *Mock-Avon*, thus apparel'd, (he being but a Man in Old *Avon's*



*Avon's Cloths*) appear to, as well as to *Tho. Goddard*? Let him produce others that see him so clad besides *Tho. Goddard*. For he being so apparel'd, how could he miss of meeting others, and of seeming to be *Avon's Ghost* to them also, he so often being abroad in that Habit? (4.) How came that *Mock-Avon* to imitate the Voice of Old *Avon* thus of a sudden, as well as to bear his Shape? (5.) Would this *Mock-Avon* have been at the expence of Twenty or Thirty Shillings, or any else for him, only to break a jest? (6.) And how should this *Mock-Avon* know of the Twenty shillings the true *Avon* owed to *Edward Lawrence*, whenas this *Lawrence* said, that none knew of that Debt but himself, and his Wife, and *Avon* and his Wife. (7.) And lastly, How could the said *Mock Avon* be seen of *Goddard*, and not of *William Avon*, or his voice be heard by *William Avon*, and yet his person not seen, if what *Goddard* saw was meerly a waggish Fellow, and not a Ghost?

These things offer themselves at the first sight to him that reads the Story, and compares this pitiful Evasion therewith. But here again I have shewed my faithfulness in thus giving occasion to any one to enquire further of this *Mock-Avon*, who the person is, and how well fitted by parity of feature and stature, to act such a part; and how he came by *Avon's Cloths*, &c. Which Fellow, if he can never be produced, yet in the mean time the fiction of such, plainly implies, that the Inventor was convinced that *Tho. Goddard* had a real Object before him, which he took to be his Father in-Law's Ghost, and that he neither saw nor discoursed with a *Phantome* of his own making.

That I am thus very industrious and zealous to support the belief of *Spirits* and *Apparitions*, and of whatever is true that contributes thereto, may seem strange to some, and therefore to want an Apology; yet considering the *Saducism* of this present Age, and Atheism too if you will, it were a great neglect in me, or any one else of my Profession, not to have a great zeal and indignation

indignation against the stupour and besottedness of the men of these times, that are so sunk into the dull sense of their *Bodies*, that they have lost all belief or conceit that there are any such things as *Spirits* in the World. And, whereas the Son of God stript himself, as it were, of those *Joys* and *Glories* above, and condescended to visit this dark caliginous Globe of *Sickliness* and *Mortality*, and to bear all the Inconveniencies and Infirmities of our frail *Flesh*; to live an obscure and contemptible Life; to be a Man of Sorrows, and acquainted with Griets; to sweat drops of Bloud out of Agony of Mind; to be Crowned with Thorns; to be mocked and spit upon; to be cruelly Scourged; and finally, to be Crucified, most ignominiously, betwixt two Thieves: For the Son of God, I say, to endure all this, out of his dear love to the straying Souls of Men, to reduce them back from this *Valley of Death* and *Darkness* to the *Joys* and *Glories* of his own Kingdom above, in the clearest Heavens, and Men in the mean time, and that under the voice of the Gospel, and these *Wits* forsooth too (the *Witches* find Souls to give to the Devil to be damned, and the *Wits* wisely conceal theirs from *CHRIST*, lest they should be Redeemed.) For these *Wits*, I say, to have grown so brutish and dull as not to conceive or believe there are any such things as *Spirits*; or *Souls* in themselves to be saved,

*Quis est tam ferreus ut teneat se?*

What real Christian would not be moved to the height of indignation, at so foul and frantick a Scene of things, and industriously lend his hand to the amending it as far as he can. This I should hope may be a just Apology for my thus zealously assisting, and faithfully ministring to the serious Design of our dear Lord and Saviour, for the recalling of the wandring Souls of Men into the way of Truth and Everlasting Salvation. And at their peril be it, who will not *excuse* that zeal and activeness, which He that set me a work, I am well assured, will not fail to *Reward*.

D<sup>r</sup> H.

*Hen: More*  
 Dr H. M. his LETTER,  
 WITH THE  
 POSTSCRIPT,  
 To Mr J. G.

Minding him of the great Expedience and Usefulness of his new intended Edition of the *Dæmon of Tedworth*, and briefly representing to him the marvellous weakness and gullery of Mr Webster's *Display of Witchcraft*.

SIR,

**W**HEN I was last at London, I called on your Book-seller, to know in what forwardness this new intended Impression of the Story of the Dæmon of Tedworth was, which will undeceive the World touching that Fame generally spread abroad, as if Mr. Mompeston and your self had acknowledged the business to have been a meer Trick or Imposture. But the Story, with your ingenious Considerations about Witchcraft, being so often printed already, he said, it behoved him to take care how he ventured on a new Impression, unless he had some new matter of that kind to add, which might make this new Edition the more certainly saleable; and therefore he expected the issue of that noised Story of the Spectre at Exeter, seen so oft for the discovering of a Murder committed some thirty years ago. But the event of this Business, as to juridical process,



not answering expectation, he was discouraged from making use of it, many things being reported to him from thence in favour to the party most concerned. But I told him a Story of one Mrs. Britton, her appearing to her Maid after her death, very well attested, though not of such a Tragical kind as that of Exeter, which he thought considerable.

But of Discoveries of Murder I never met with any Story more plain and unexceptionable than that in Mr. John Webster his Display of supposed Witchcraft. The Book indeed it self, I confess, is but a weak and impertinent piece; but that Story weighty and convincing, and such as himself (though otherwise an affected Caviller against almost all Stories of Witchcraft and Apparitions) is constrained to assent to, as you shall see from his own confession. I shall for your better ease, or because you haply may not have the Book, transcribe it out of the Writer himself, though it be something long, Chap. 16. Page 298.

About the year of our Lord, 1632. (as near as I can remember, having lost my Notes and the Copy of the Letter to Serjeant Hutton, but am sure that I do most perfectly remember the substance of the story) near unto Chester in the Street, there lived one Walker a Teoman-man of good Estate, and a Widower, who had a young Woman to his Kinswoman that kept his House, who was by the Neighbours suspected to be with Child, and was towards the dark of the Evening one night sent away with one Mark Sharp, who was a Collier, or one that digged Coals under ground, and one that had been born in Blakeburn-Hundred in Lancashire; and so she was not heard of a long time, and no noise or little was made about it. In the Winter-time after, one James Graham or Grime (for so in that Country they call them) being a Miller, and living about two miles from the place where Walker lived, was one night alone very late in the Mill grinding Corn; and as about twelve or one a clock at night, he came down the Stairs from having been putting Corn in the Hopper, the Mill-doors being shut, there stood a Woman upon the midst of the Floor, with her Hair about her Head hanging down and all bloody, with five large Wounds



## 18 The Letter of Dr. H. M. &c.

on her Head. He being much affrighted and amazed, began to bless him, and at last asked her who she was, and what she wanted? To which she said, I am the Spirit of such a Woman, who lived with Walker; and being got with Child by him, he promised to send me to a private place, where I should be well lookt to until I was brought in Bed and well again, and then I should come again and keep his House.

And accordingly, said the Apparition, I was one night late sent away with one Mark Sharp, who, upon a Moor (naming a place that the Miller knew) slew me with a Pick (such as men dig Coals withal) and gave me these five Wounds, and after threw my Body into a Coal-Pit hard by, and hid the Pick under a Bank: and his Shoes and Stockings being bloody, he endeavoured to wash; but seeing the blood would not wash forth, he hid them there. And the Apparition further told the Miller, that he must be the man to reveal it, or else that she must still appear and haunt him. The Miller returned home very sad and heavy, but spoke not one word of what he had seen, but eschewed as much as he could to stay in the Mill within night without company, thinking thereby to escape the seeing again of that frightful Apparition.

But notwithstanding, one night when it began to be dark, the Apparition met him again, and seemed very fierce and cruel, and threatened him, That if he did not reveal the Murder, she would continually pursue and haunt him. Yet for all this, he still concealed it until St. Thomas's Eve before Christmas, when being soon after Sun-set walking in his Garden, she appeared again, and then so threatened him and affrighted him, that he faithfully promised to reveal it next morning.

In the morning he went to a Magistrate, and made the whole matter known, with all the circumstances; and diligent search being made, the Body was found in a Coal-Pit, with five Wounds in the Head, and the Pick, and Shoes, and Stockings yet bloody, in every circumstance as the Apparition had related unto the Miller. Whereupon Walker and Mark Sharp

Sharp were both apprehended, but would confess nothing. At the Assizes following (I think it was at Durham) they were arraigned, found guilty, condemned, and executed, but I could never hear that they confessed the Fact. There were some that reported, that the Apparition did appear to the Judge, or the Foreman of the Jury, (who was alive in Chester in the Street about ten years ago, as I have been credibly informed) but of that I know no certainty.

There are many persons yet alive that can remember this strange Murder, and the Discovery of it; for it was, and sometimes yet is, as much discoursed of in the North-Country, as any thing that almost hath ever been heard of, and the Relation Printed, though now not to be gotten. I relate this with the greater confidence, (though I may fail in some of the Circumstances) because I saw and read the Letter that was sent to Serjeant Hutton, who then lived at Goldsbrugh in Yorkshire, from the Judge before whom Walker and Mark Sharp were tried, and by whom they were condemned; and had a Copy of it until about the year 1658, when I had it and many other Books and Papers taken from me. And this I confess to be one of the most convincing Stories (being of undoubted verity) that ever I read, heard, or knew of, and carrieth with it the most evident force to make the most incredulous spirit to be satisfied that there are really sometimes such things as Apparitions. Thus far He.

This Story is so considerable, that I make mention of it in my Scholia on my Immortality of the Soul, in my Volumen Philosophicum, Tom. 2. which I acquainted a Friend of mine with, a prudent intelligent Person, Dr. J. D. he of his own accord offered me, it being a thing of such consequence, to send to a Friend of his in the North for greater assurance of the truth of the Narration; which motion I willingly embracing, he did accordingly. The Answer to his Letter from his Friend Mr. Shepherdson, is this:

I have done what I can to inform my self of the passage of Sharp and Walker. There are very few men that I could meet, that were then Men, or at the Tryal, fa-  
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ving these two in the inclosed Paper, both Men at that time, and both at the Tryal. And for Mr Lumley, he lived next door to Walker; and what he hath given under his hand, can depose if there were occasion. The other Gentleman writ his Attestation with his own hand; but I being not there, got not his Name to it. I could have sent you twenty hands that could have said thus much and more by hear-say, but I thought these most proper that could speak from their own Eyes and Ears. Thus far Mr. Shepherdson, the Doctor's discreet and faithful Intelligencer. Now for Mr. Lumley's Testimony, it is this.

Mr. William Lumley of Lumley, being an ancient Gentleman, and at the Tryal of Walker and Sharp, upon the Murder of Anne Walker, saith, That he doth very well remember, that the said Anne was Servant to Walker, and that she was supposed to be with Child, but would not disclose by whom. But being removed to her Aunts in the same Town, called Dame Carie, told her Aunt that he that had got her with Child, would take care both for her and it, and bid her not trouble her self. After some time she had been at her Aunts, it was observed that Sharp came to Lumley one night, being a sworn Brother of the said Walker's; and they two that night called her forth from her Aunts House, which night she was murdered.

About fourteen days after the Murder, there appeared to one Graime a Fuller, at his Mill, six miles from Lumley, the likeness of a Woman, with her Hair about her Head, and the appearance of five Wounds in her Head, as the said Graime gave it in Evidence. That that appearance bid him go to a Justice of Peace, and relate to him how that Walker and Sharp had murdered her, in such a place as she was murdered: But he fearing to disclose a thing of that nature against a person of credit as Walker was, would not have done it; but she continually appearing night by night to him, and pulling the Cloathes off his Bed, told him, He should never rest till he had disclosed it. Upon which the said Graime did go to a Justice of Peace, and related the whole matter. Whereupon the Justice of Peace granted Warrants against Walker  
and



and Sharp, and committed them to Prison. But they found Bail to appear at the next Assizes. At which time they came to their Tryal, and upon evidence of the Circumstances with that of Graime of the Appearance, they were both found guilty, and executed.

Will. Lumley.

The other Testimony is of Mr. James Smart of the City of Durham; who saith, That the Tryal of Sharp and Walker was in the Month of August 1631. before Judge Davenport. One Mr. Fairhair gave it in Evidence upon Oath, that he see the likeness of a Child stand upon Walker's Shoulders during the time of the Tryal: At which time the Judge was very much troubled, and gave Sentence that night the Tryal was; which was a thing never used in Durham before nor after.

Out of which two Testimonies several things may be corrected or supplied in Mr. Webster's story, though it be evident enough that in the main they agree: For that is but a small disagreement as to the year, when Mr. Webster says about the year of our Lord, 1632. and Mr. Smart, 1631. But unless at Durham they have Assizes but once in the year, I understand not so well how Sharp and Walker should be apprehended some little while after St. Thomas's Day, as Mr. Webster has it, and be tried the next Assizes at Durham, and yet that be in August. according to Smart's Testimony. Out of Mr. Lumley's Testimony the Christian Name of the young Woman is supplied, as also the Name of the Town near Chester in the Street, namely Lumley. The Circumstances also of Walker's sending away his Kinswoman with Mark Sharp, are supplied out of Mr. Lumley's Narrative; and the time rectified, by telling it was about fourteen days till the Spectre appeared after the Murder, whenas Mr. Webster makes it a long time.

Two Errors also more are corrected in Mr. Webster's Narration, by Mr. Lumley's Testimony: The distance of the Miller from Lumley where Walker dwelt, which was Six miles, not Two miles, as Mr. Webster has it. And also,

that it was not a Mill to grind Corn in, but a Fuller's Mill. The Apparition night by night pulling the Cloaths off Graime's Bed, omitted in Mr. Webster's Story, may be supplied out of Mr. Lumley's. And Mr. Smart's Testimony puts it out of controversy, that the Tryal was at Durham, and before Judge Davenport, which is omitted by Mr Webster. And whereas Mr. Webster says, there were some that reported, that the Apparition did appear to the Judge, or the Fore-man of the Jury, but of that he knows no certainty: This confession of his, as it is a sign he would not write any thing in this Story of which he was not certain for the main, so here is a very seasonable supply for this out of Mr. Smart, who affirms, that he heard one Mr. Fairhair give Evidence upon Oath, that he saw the likeness of a Child stand upon Walker's Shoulders during the time of the Tryal. It is likely this Mr. Fairhair might be the Fore-man of the Jury; and in that the Judge was so very much troubled, that himself also might see the same Apparition as Mr. Webster says report went, though the mistake in Mr. Webster is, that it was the Apparition of the Woman. But this of the Child was very fit and apposite, placed on his Shoulders, as one that was justly loaded or charged with that Crime of getting his Kinswoman with Child, as well as of plotting with Sharp to murder her.

The Letter also which he mentions writ from the Judge before whom the Trial was heard, to Serjeant Hutton, it is plain out of Mr. Smart's Testimony, that it was from Judge Davenport; which in all likelihood was a very full and punctual Narrative of the whole business, and enabled Mr. Webster, in some considerable things, to be more particular than Mr. Lumley. But the agreement is so exact for the main, that there is no doubt to be made of the truth of the Apparition. But that this, forsooth, must not be the Soul of Anne Walker, but her Astral Spirit, this is but a fantastick conceit of Webster and his Paracelsians, which I have sufficiently shewn the folly of in the Scholia on my Immortality of the Soul, Volum. Philos. Tom. II. p. 384.

This Story of Anne Walker I think you will do well to put  
amongst

amongst your Additions in the new Impression of your Dæmon of Tedworth, it being so excellently well attested, and so unexceptionably in every respect; and to hasten as fast as you can that Impression, to undeceive the half-witted World, who so much exult and triumph in the extinguishing the belief of that Narration, as if the crying down the truth of that story of the Dæmon of Tedworth, were indeed the very slaying of the Devil, and that they may now with more gaiety and security than ever sing in a loud note that mad drunken Catch,

Hay ho! the Devil is dead, &c.

Which wild Song, though it may seem a piece of levity to mention, yet believe me, the application thereof bears a sober and weighty intimation along with it, viz. that these sort of People are very horribly afraid there should be any Spirit, lest there should be a Devil, and an account after this life; and therefore they are impatient of any thing that implies it, that they may with a more full swing, and with all security from an after-reckoning, indulge their own Lusts and Humours in this. And I know by long experience, that nothing rouses them so out of that dull Lethargy of Atheism and Seducism, as Narrations of this kind. For they being of a thick and gross spirit, the most subtile and solid deductions of reason does little execution upon them; but this sort of sensible Experiments cuts them and stings them very sore, and so startles them, that by a less considerable story by far than this of the Drummer of Tedworth, or of Anne Walker, a Doctor of Physick cry'd out presently, If this be true, I have been in a wrong Box all this time, and must begin my account anew.

And I remember an old Gentleman in the Country of my acquaintance, an excellent Justice of Peace and a piece of a Mathematician; but what kind of Philosopher he was, you may understand from a Rhyme of his own making, which he commended to me at my taking Horse in his Yard; which Rhyme is this,



*Ens* is nothing till Sense find it out :  
Sense ends in nothing, so nought goes about.

*Which Rhyme of his was so rapturous to himself, that at the reciting of the second Verse, the old Gentleman turned himself about upon his Toe as nimbly as one may observe a dry Leaf whisked round in the corner of an Orchard-walk by some little Whirlwind. With this Philosopher I have had many Discourses concerning the Immortality of the Soul, and its distinction from the Body, and of the existence of Spirits. When I have ran him quite down by Reason, he would but laugh at me, and say, This is Logick, H. calling me by my Christen Name. To which I replied, This is Reason, Father L. (for so I used, and some others, to call him) but it seems you are for the New Lights, and immediate Inspiration. Which, I confess, he was as little for as for the other; but I said so only in way of drollery to him in those times. But truth is, nothing but palpable experience would move him: And being a bold man, and fearing nothing, he told me he had used all the Magical Ceremonies of Conjurat[i]on he could to raise the Devil or a Spirit, and had a most earnest desire to meet with one, but never could do it. But this he told me, when he did not so much as think of it, while his Servant was pulling off his Boots in the Hall, some invisible Hand gave him such a clap upon the Back, that it made all ring again. So thought he, now I am invited to the converse of some Spirit; and therefore so soon as his Boots were off and his Shoes on, out goes he into the Yard and next Field, to find out the Spirit that had given him this familiar clap on the back, but found none, neither in the Yard nor Field next to it.*

*But though he did not, this stroak, albeit he thought it afterwards (finding nothing come of it) a meer delusion; yet not long before his death it had more force with him than all the Philosophical Arguments I could use to him, though I could winde him and nonplus him as I pleased; but yet all my Arguments, how solid soever, made no impress[i]on upon him.*

*Wherefore*

Wherefore after several reasonings of th's nature, whereby I would prove to him the Souls distinction from the Body, and its Immortality, when nothing of such subtile consideration did any more execution on his mind, than some Lightning is said to do, though it melt the Sword, on the fuzzy consistency of the Scabbard: Well, said I, Father L. though none of these things move you, I have something still behind, and what your self has acknowledged to me to be true, that may do the business. Do you remember the clap on your Back when your Servant was pulling off your Boots in the Hall? Assure your self, said I, Father L. that Goblin will be the first that will bid you welcome into the other World. Upon that his Countenance changed most sensibly, and he was more confounded with this rubbing up his memory, than with all the Rational or Philosophical Argumentations that I could produce.

Indeed, if there were any modesty left in mankind, the Histories of the Bible might abundantly assure men of the existence of Angels and Spirits. But these Wits, as they are taken to be, are so jealous, forsooth, and so sagacious, that whatsoever is offered to them by way of established Religion, is suspected for a piece of politick Circumvention; which is as silly notwithstanding, and as childish, as that conceit of a Friend of yours when he was a School-Boy in the lowest Form of a Country Grammar-school, who could not believe scarce that there were any such men as Cato, and Æsop, and Ovid, and Virgil, and Tully, much less that they wrote any such Books, but that it was a trick of our Parents to keep us up so many hours of the day together, and hinder us from the enjoying our innocent pastime in the open Air, and the pleasure of planting little Gardens of Flowers, and of hunting of Butter-flies, and Bumble-Bees.

Besides, though what is once true never becomes false, so that it may be truly said it was not once true; yet these shrewd Wits suspect the truth of things for their antiquity, and for that very reason think them the less credible: Which is as wisely done as of the Old Woman the Story goes of, Who being at Church in the week before Easter, and hearing  
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the tragical Description of all the circumstances of our Saviour's Crucifixion, was in great sorrow at the reciting thereof; and so solicitous about the business, that she came to the Priest after Service with tears in her Eyes, dropping him a Courtsey, and asked him how long ago this sad accident happened; to whom he answering about Fifteen or Sixteen hundred years ago, she presently began to be comforted, and said, Then in grace of God it may not be true. At this pitch of wit in Children and Old Wives, is the Reason of our professed Wit-would-be's of this present Age, who will catch at any slight occasion or pretence of misbelieving those things that they cannot endure should be true.

And forasmuch as such course-grain'd Philosophers as those Hobbians and Spinozians, and the rest of that Rabble, slight Religion and the Scriptures, because there is such express mention of Spirits and Angels in them, things that their dull Souls are so inclinable to conceit to be impossible; I look upon it as a special piece of Providence that there are ever and anon such fresh Examples of Apparitions and Witchcrafts as may rub up and awaken their benumbed and lethargick Minds into a suspicion at least, if not assurance, that there are other intelligent Beings besides those that are clad in heavy Earth or Clay. In this, I say, methinks the Divine Providence does plainly outwit the Powers of the dark Kingdom, in permitting wicked men and women, and vagrant Spirits of that Kingdom, to make Leagues or Covenants one with another the Confession of Witches against their own Lives being so palpable an Evidence, (besides the miraculous feats they play) that there are bad Spirits, which will necessarily open a Door to the belief that there are good ones, and lastly, that there is a God.

Wherefore let the small Philosophick Sir Foplings of this present Age deride them as much as they will, those that lay out their pains in committing to writing certain well-attested Stories of Witches and Apparitions, do real service to true Religion and sound Philosophy, and the most effectual and accommodate to the confounding of Infidelity and Atheism, even in the Judgment of the Atheists themselves, who are

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as much afraid of the truth of these Stories as an Ape is of a Whip; and therefore force themselves with might and main to disbelieve them by reason of the dreadful consequence of them as to themselves. The wicked fear where no fear is, but God is in the generation of the Righteous. And he that fears God and has Faith in Jesus Christ, need not fear how many Devils there be, nor be afraid of himself or his own Immortality. And therefore it is nothing but a foul dark Conscience within, or a very gross and dull constitution of Blood, that makes men so averse from these Truths.

But however, be they as averse as they will, being this is the most accommodate medicine for this Disease, their diligence and care of Mankind is much to be commended that make it their business to apply it, and are resolved, though the peevishness and perverseness of the Patients makes them pull off their plaister, (as they have this excellent one of the Story of the Dæmon of Tedworth by decrying it as an Imposition, so acknowledged by both your self and Mr. Mompeyson) are resolved, I say, with meekness and charity to bind it on again, with the addition of new Filletting, I mean other Stories sufficiently fresh and very well attested and certain. This worthy design therefore of yours, I must confess, I cannot but highly commend and approve, and therefore wish you all good success therein; and so, committing you to God, I take leave, and rest

Your Affectionate Friend

to serve you,

H. M.

THE

## THE POSTSCRIPT.

**T**HIS Letter lying by me some time before I thought it opportune to convey it, and in the mean while meeting more than once with those that seemed to have some opinion of Mr *Webster's* Criticisms and Interpretations of Scripture, as if he had quitted himself so well there, that no proof thence can hereafter be expected of the Being of a Witch, which is the scope that he earnestly aims at; and I reflecting upon that passage in my Letter, which does not stick to condemn *Webster's* whole Book for a weak and impertinent piece, presently thought fit, (that you might not think that Censure over-rash or unjust) it being an endless task to shew all the weaknesses and impertinencies of his Discourse, briefly by way of *Postscript*, to hint the weakness and impertinency of this part which is counted the Master-piece of the Work, that thereby you may perceive that my judgment has not been at all rash touching the whole.

And in order to this, we are first to take notice what is the real scope of his Book: which if you peruse, you shall certainly find to be this: That the parties ordinarily deemed Witches and Wizards, are only Knaves and Queans, to use his Phrase, and arrant Cheats, or deep Melancholists; but have no more to do with any Evil Spirit, or Devil, or the Devil with them, than he has with other Sinners or wicked Men, or they with the Devil. And Secondly, we are impartially to define what is the true Notion of a Witch or Wizzard, which is necessary for the detecting of *Webster's* Impertinencies.

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As for the words *Witch* and *Wizzard*, from the Notation of them, they signifie no more than a wise Man, or a wise Woman. In the word *Wizzard*, it is plain at the very first sight. And I think the most plain and least operose deduction of the name *Witch*, is from *Wit*, whose derived Adjective might be *Wittigh* or *Wittich*, and by contraction afterwards *Witch*; as the Noun *wit* is from the Verb *to weet*, which is, to know. So that a *Witch*, thus far, is no more than a knowing Woman; which answers exactly to the *Latine* word *Saga*, according to that of *Festus*, *Saga dicta anus quæ multa sciunt*. Thus in general: But use questionless had appropriated the word to such a kind of skill and knowledge, as was out of the common road or extraordinary. Nor did this peculiarity imply in it any unlawfulness. But there was after a further restriction and most proper of all, and in which alone now adays the words *Witch* and *Wizzard* are used. And that is, for one that has the knowledge or skill of doing or telling things in an extraordinary way, and that in vertue of either an expresse or implicate sociation or confederacy with some Evil Spirit. This is a true and adequate definition of a *Witch* or *Wizzard*, which to whomsoever it belongs, is such, & vice versa. But to prove or defend, that there neither are, nor ever were any such, is, as I said, the main scope of *Webster's* Book: In order to which, he endeavours in his sixth and eighth Chapters to evacuate all the Testimonies of Scripture: which how weakly and impertinently he has done, I shall now shew with all possible brevity and perspicuity.

The words that he descants upon, are *Deut.* ch. 18. v. 10. 11. *There shall not be found among you any one that useth divination, or an observer of times, or an Enchanter, or a Witch, or a Charmer, or a Consulter with familiar Spirits, or a Wizzard, or a Necromancer.* The first word or name in the Hebrew is קוסם קסמים [*Kosem Kesamim*] a *Diviner*. Here because קסם [*Kasam*] sometimes has an indifferent sence, and signifies to divine by natural



natural Knowledge or humane Prudence or Sagacity; therefore nothing of such a Witch as is imagined to make a visible League with the Devil, or to have her Body suckt by him, or have carnal copulation with him, or is really turned into a Cat, Hare, Wolf, or Dog, can be deduced from this word. A goodly inference indeed, and hugely to the purpose, as is apparent from the foregoing definition. But though that cannot be deduced, yet in that this *Divination* that is here forbidden, is plainly declared abominable and execrable, as it is v. 12. it is manifest that such a *Divination* is understood that really is so; which cannot well be conceived to be, unless it imply either an expresse or implicate inveiglement with some evil invisible Powers who assist any kind of those Divinations that may be comprehended under this general term. So that this is plainly one name of Witchcraft according to the genuine definition thereof. And the very words of *Saul* to the Witch of *Endor*, are, *קְסוּמִי נָא לִי בָּאוֹב* that is to say, *Divine to me I pray thee by thy familiar Spirit*. Which is more than by natural knowledge or humane sagacity.

The next word is *מַעֲנֵן* [*Megnonen*] which though our English Translation renders (from *יָן* [*Gnon*] *Tempus*) an *Observer of Times*; (which should rather be a Declarer of the reasonableness of the time, or unreasonableness as to success; a thing which is enquired of also from Witches) yet the usual sense rendered by the Learned in the Language, is *Præstigiator*, an Imposer on the sight, *Sapientes præsci*, says *Buxtorf*, a *יָן* [*Gnain, Oculus*] *deduxerunt & מַעֲנֵן* [*Megnonen*] *esse cum dixerunt, qui tenet & præstringit oculos, ut falsum pro vero videant*. Lo another word that signifies a Witch or a Wizzard, which has its name properly from imposing on the sight, and making the by-stander believe he sees Forms or Transformations of things he sees not. As when *Anne Bodenham* transformed her self before *Anne Styles* into the shape of a great Cat; *Anne Styles* her sight was so imposed upon, that the thing to her seemed

seemed to be done, though her Eyes were only deluded. But such a delusion certainly cannot be performed without confederacy with evil Spirits. For to think the word signifies *Præstigiator* in that sence we translate in English, *Juggler*, or an *Hocus-Pocus*, is so fond a conceit, that no man of any depth of wit can endure it. As if a Merry Juggler that plays tricks of Legerdemain at a Fair or Market, were such an abomination to either the God of *Israel*, or to his Lawgiver *Moses*; or as if an *Hocus-Pocus* were so wise a wight as to be consulted as an Oracle: For it is said v. 14. *For the Nations which thou shalt possess, they consult מעִיִּנִים [Megnonenim]* What, do they consult Jugglers and *Hocus-Pocusses*? No certainly they consult Witches or Wizzards, and Diviners, as *Anne Syles* did *Anne Bodenham*. Wherefore here is evidently a second name of a Witch.

The third word in the Text, is מְנַחֵשׁ [*Menachesh*] which our English Translation renders, an *Enchanter*. And with Mr *Webster*'s leave, (who insulteth so over their supposed ignorance) I think they have translated it very learnedly and judiciously: For Charming and Enchanting, as *Webster* himself acknowledges, and the words intimate, being all one, the word מְנַחֵשׁ [*Menachesh*] here, may very well signifie Enchanters or Charmers, but such properly as kill Serpents by their charming, from נָחָשׁ [*Nachash*] which signifies a Serpent, from whence comes נִחֵשׁ [*Nichesh*] to kill Serpents or make away with them. For a Verb in *Pihel*, sometimes (especially when it is formed from a Noun) has a contrary signification. Thus from שָׁרַשׁ *radix* is שָׁרַשׁ *radices evulsit*, from רָשָׁן *Cinis* רָשָׁן *removit Cineres*, from חָטָא *peccavit* חָטָא *expiavit à peccato*; and so lastly from נָחָשׁ *Serpents*, is made נִחֵשׁ *liberavit à serpentibus, nempe occidendo vel fugando per incantationem*. And therefore there seems to have been a great deal of skill and depth of judgment in our English Translators that rendered מְנַחֵשׁ [*Menachesh*] an *Enchanter*, especially when that of *Augur* or *Southsayer*, which the Septuagint call

ῥοιων ζῳων (there being so many harmless kinds of it) might seem less suitable with this black List: For there is no such abomination in adventuring to tell, when the wild Geese fly high in great companies and cackle much, that hard weather is at hand. But to rid Serpents by a Charm, is above the power of Nature; and therefore an indication of one that has the assistance of some invisible Spirits to help him in this exploit, as it happens in several others; and therefore this another name of one that is really a Witch.

The Fourth word is, מַכְשֵׁף [*Mecasseph*] which our *English* Translators render, a *Witch*; for which I have no quarrel with them, unless they should so understand it that it must exclude others from being so in that sense I have defined, which is impossible they should. But this, as the foregoing, is but another term of the same thing; that is, of a Witch in general, but so called here from the prestigious imposing on the sight of Beholders. *Buxtorf* tells us, that *Aben Ezra* defines those to be מַכְשֵׁפִים [*Mecassephim*] *qui mutant & transformant res naturales ad aspectum oculi*. Not as Jugglers and Hocus-Pocusses, as *Webster* would ridiculously insinuate, but so as I understood the thing in the second name: For these are but several names of a Witch, who may have several more properties than one name intimates. Whence it is no wonder that Translators render not them always alike. But so many names are reckoned up here in this clause of the Law of *Moses*, that, as in our Common-Law, the sense may be more sure, and leave no room to evasion. And that here this name is not from any tricks of Legerdemain as in common Jugglers that delude the sight of the people at a Market or Fair, but that it is the name of such as raise Magical Spectres to deceive mens sight, and so are most certainly Witches, is plain from *Exod.* 22. 18. *Thou shalt not suffer מַכְשֵׁפָה* [*Mechassephah*] that is, a *Witch to live*. Which would be a Law of extream severity, or rather cruelty, against a poor Hocus-Pocus for his tricks of Legerdemain.

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The Fifth name is חובר [Chobher Chebher] which our *English* Translators render Charmer, which is the same with Enchanter. *Webster* upon this name is very tedious and flat, a many words, and small weight in them. I shall dispatch the meaning briefly thus: This חובר [Chobher Chebher] that is to say, *Socians Societatem* is another name of a Witch, so called specially, either from the confociating together Serpents by a Charm, which has made men usually turn it (from the example of the Septuagints ἐπιδάων ἐπαοιδῶν) a Charmer, or an Enchanter: or else from the society or compact of the Witch with some evil Spirits; which *Webster* acknowledges to have been the opinion of two very learned Men, *Martin Luther*, and *Perkins*; and I will add a third, *Aben Ezra*, (as *Martinus* hath noted) who gives this reason of the word חובר [Chobher] an Enchanter, which signifies *Socians* or *Jungens*, viz. *Quod malignos Spiritus sibi associat*. And certainly one may charm long enough, even till his Heart ake, e're he make one Serpent assemble near him, unless helpt by this confederacy of Spirits that drive them to the Charmer. He keeps a pudder with the sixth verse of the fifty eighth Psalm to no purpose: Whenas from the Hebrew, אֲשֶׁר לֹא יִשְׁמַע לְקוֹל מְלַחְשִׁים חוֹבֵר חִבְרִים מְחַכֵּם, if you repeat אֲשֶׁר לֹא יִשְׁמַע לְקוֹל before חוֹבֵר you may with ease and exactness render it thus; *That hears not the voice of muttering Charmers, no not the voice of a confederate Wizzard or Charmer that is skilful*. But seeing Charms, unless with them that are very shallow and fillily credulous, can have no such effects of themselves, there is all the reason in the world (according as the very word intimates, and as *Aben Ezra* has declared) to ascribe the effect to the assistance, confederacy, and co-operation of Evil Spirits, and so חובר חברים [Chobher Chabharim] or חובר חבר [Chobher Chebher] will plainly signifie a Witch or a Wizzard according to the true definition of them. But for *J. Webster's* rendring this verse p. 119. thus, *Quæ non audiet vocem mussitan-*  

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tium incantationes docti Incantantis, which he saith is doubtless the most genuine rendring of the place) let any skilful man apply it to the Hebrew Text, and he will presently find it Grammatical Nonsense. If that had been the sence it should have been חברי חובר מחכם.

The Sixth word is, שואל אוב [Shoel Obh] which our English Translation renders, a *Consulter with familiar Spirits*; but the Septuagint Ἐγασελυθ. Which therefore must needs signifie him that has this familiar Spirit: And therefore שואל אוב [Shoel Obh] I conceive, (considering the rest of the words are so to be understood) is to be understood of the Witch or Wizzard himself that asks counsel of his Familiar, and does by vertue of him give Answers unto others. The reason of the name of אוב [Obh] 'tis likely was taken first from that Spirit that was in the Body of the Party, and swelled it to a protuberancy like the side of a Bottle. But after, without any relation to that circumstance, OBH signifies as much as *Pytho*; as *Pytho* also, though at first it took its name from the *Pythii Vates*, signifies no more than *Spiritum Divinationis*, in general, a Spirit that tells hidden things or things to come. And OBH and *Pytho* also agree in this, that they both signifie either the divinatory Spirit it self, or the party that has that Spirit. But here in שואל אוב [Shoel Obh] it being rendred by the Septuagint Ἐγασελυθ, OBH is necessarily understood of the Spirit it self, as *Pytho* is *Acts* 16. 16. if you read πνεῦμα πύθωνα, with *Isaac Casaubon*; but if πύθων, it may be understood either way. Of this πνεῦμα πύθων, it is recorded in that place, That *Paul being grieved, turned and said to that Spirit, I command thee, in the Name of Jesus Christ, to come out of her, and he came out at the same hour*; which signifies as plainly as any thing can be signified, that this *Pytho* or Spirit of Divination, that this OBH was in her: For nothing can come out of the Sack that was not in the Sack, as the Spanish Proverb has it; nor could this *Pytho* come out of her, unless it was a Spirit distinct from her: wherefore

wherefore I am amazed at the profane impudence of *J. Webster*, that makes this *Pytho* in the Maid there mentioned, nothing but a wicked humour of cheating and couzening Divination: and adds, that this Spirit was no more cast out of that Maid, than the seven Devils out of *Mary Magdalen*, which he would have understood only of her several Vices; which foolish Familistical conceit he puts upon *Beza* as well as *Adie*. Wherein as he is most unjust to *Beza*, so he is most grossly impious and blasphemous against the Spirit of Christ in *St. Paul* and *St. Luke*, who makes them both such Fools as to believe that there was a Spirit or divining Devil in the Maid, when according to him there is no such thing. Can any thing be more frantick or ridiculous than this passage of *St. Paul*, if there was no Spirit or Devil in the Damsel? But what will this prophane Shuffler stick to do in a dear regard to his beloved Hags, of whom he is sworn Advocate, and resolved Patron right or wrong?

But to proceed, that אוב [*Obb*] signifies the Spirit it self that divines, not only he that has it, is manifest from *Levit. 20. v. 27. Vir autem sive mulier cum fuerit* [בנה אוב] *in eis Pytho.* And *1 Sam. ch. 28. v. 8. Divina queso mihi* [באוב] *per Pythonem.* In the Septuagint it is ἐν τῷ Ἐγγασπιμύθῳ, that is, by that Spirit that sometimes goes into the body of the party, and thence gives answers; but here it only signifies a Familiar Spirit. And lastly, בעלת אוב [*Bagnalath Obb*] *1 Sam. 28. v. 7. Quæ habet Pythonem*; there *O B H* must needs signifie the Spirit it self, of which she of *Endor* was the Owner or Possessor; that is to say, it was her Familiar Spirit. But see what brazen and stupid impudence will do, here בעלת אוב [*Bagnalath Obb*] with *Webster* must not signifie one that has a Familiar Spirit, but the Mistress of the Bottle. Who but the Master of the Bottle, or rather of whom the Bottle had become Master, and by guzling had made his Wits excessively muddy and frothy, could ever stumble upon such a fool-



ish Interpretation? But because אוֹב [Obb] in one place of the Scripture signifies a Bottle, it must signifie so here, and it must be the Instrument, forsooth, out of which this cheating Quean of Endor does *whisper, peep, or chirp like a chicken coming out of the Shell*, p. 129. 165. And does she not, I beseech you, put her Neb also into it sometimes, as into a Reed, as it is said of that Bird, and cry like a *Butterbump*? certainly he might as well have interpreted בעֶלְתָּ אוֹב [Bagnalath Obb] of the great Tun of Heidelberg, that Tom. Coriat takes such special notice of, as of the Bottle.

And truly so far as I see, it must be some such huge Tun at length, rather than the Bottle, that is, such a spacious Tub as he in his deviceful imagination fancies Manasses to have built; a παύλειον forsooth, or Oracular Edifice for cheating Rogues and Queans to play their couzening tricks in; from that place 2 Chron. 33.6. וַעֲשֶׂה אוֹב Et fecit Pythonem. Now, says he, how could Manasses make a Familiar Spirit, or make one that had a Familiar Spirit? Therefore he made a Bottle, a Tun, or a large Tub, a παύλειον, or Oracular Edifice for cheating Rogues and Queans to play their couzening tricks in. Very wisely argued, and out of the very depth of his ignorance of the Hebrew Tongue! whenas if he had looked into Buxtorf's Dictionary he might have understood that עֲשֶׂה signifies not only fecit, but also paravit, comparavit, acquisivit, magni fecit, none of which words imply the making of O B H in his sence, but only the appointing them to be got, and countenancing them. For in Webster's sence he did not make יִרְעֵנִי [fidegnoni] neither, that is Wizzards; and yet Manasses is said to make them both alike. וַעֲשֶׂה אוֹב וַיִּרְעֵנִי Et fecit Pythonem & Magos. So plain is it that אוֹב [Obb] signifies Pytho, and that adequately in the same sence that Pytho does, either a Familiar Spirit, or him that has that Spirit of Divination. But in בעֶלְתָּ אוֹב [Bagnalath Obb] it necessarily signifies the Familiar Spirit it self, which assisted the Witch of Endor; whereby it is manifest she is rightly called

called a Witch. As for his Stories of counterfeit *Ventriloquists*, (and who knows but some of his counterfeit *Ventriloquists* may prove true ones) that is but the thread-bare Sophistry of Sadducees and Atheists to elude the faith of all true stories by those that are of counterfeits or feigned.

The seventh word is ידעוני [*Jidegnoni*] which our English Translators render a *Wizzard*. And *Webster* is so kind as to allow them to have translated this word aright. *Wizzards* then *Webster* will allow, that is to say, *He-witches*, but not *She-Witches*. How tender the man is of that Sex! But the word invites him to it, ידעוני [*Jidegnoni*] coming from ידע *scire*, and answering exactly to *Wizzard* or *Wise-man*. And does not *Witch*, from *wit* and *weet*, signify as well a *Wise woman*, as I noted above? And as to the sence of those words from whence they are derived, there is no hurt herein; and therefore if that were all, ידעוני [*Jidegnoni*] had not been in this black List. Wherefore it is here understood in that more restrict and worst sence: so as we understand usually now adays *Witch* and *Wizzard*, such wise Men and Women whose skill is from the confederacy of evil Spirits, and therefore are real *Wizzards* and *Witches*. In what a bad sence ידעוני [*Jidegnoni*] is understood, we may learn from *Levit. 20. 27.* *A man also or woman that hath a familiar Spirit, or that is a Wizzard* [*Jidegnoni*] *shall be put to death, they shall stone them with stones, &c.*

The last word is דורש המתים [*Doresh Hammethim*] which our Translators rightly render *Necromancers*; that is, those that either upon their own account, or desired by others, do raise the Ghosts of the deceased to consult with; which is a more particular term than בעל אויב [*Bagnal Obh:*] But he that is *Bagnal Obh*, may be also *Doresh Hammethim* a *Necromancer*, as appears in the *Witch of Endor*. Here *Webster* by המתים [*Hammethim*] the *Dead*, would understand dead Statues; but let him, if he can, any where shew in all the Scripture

where the word **המתים** [*Hammethim*] is used of what was not once alive. He thinks he hits the nail on the head in that place of *Isaias*, ch. 8. v. 19. *And when they shall say unto you, Seek unto (האבית, that is, to בעלזת אוב, such as the Witch of Endor was) them that have familiar Spirits, and to Wizzards that peep and that mutter; (the Hebrew has it המהנים and המצפצפים; that is, that speak with a querulous murmurant or musitant voice, when they either conjure up the Spirit, or give responses. If this be to peep like a Chicken, Isaiah himself peep like a Chicken, ch. 38. 14.) should not a people seek unto their God? for the living, [אל המתים] to the dead? where Hammethim is so far from signifying dead Statues, that it must needs be understood of the Ghosts of dead men, as here in Deuteronomy. None but one that had either stupidly, or wilfully forgot the story of Samuel's being raised by that בעלזת אוב [Bagnalath Obh] the Witch of Endor, could ever have the face to affirm, that המתים [Hammethim] here in Isaiah is to be understood of dead Statues, when Wizzards or Necromancers were so immediately mentioned before, especially not Webster, who acknowledges that שואל אוב [Shoel Obh] signifies a Necromancer in this Deuteronomical List of abominable names. And therefore, forsooth, would have it a Tautologie that Doresh Hammethim should signifie so too. But I say it is no Tautologie, this last term being more expresse and restrict. And besides, this enumeration is not intended as an accurate Logical division of Witches or Witchcraft into so many distinct kinds, but a reciting of several names of that ill Trade, though they will interfere one with another, and have no significations so precisely distinct. But, as I said before, this fuller recounting of them is made, that the prohibition in this form might be the surer fence against the sin. And now therefore what will J. Webster get by this, if Doresh Hammethim will not signifie a Witch of Endor, when it must necessarily signifie a Necromancer, which is as much against his Tooth as the other?*



other? Nay indeed this *Necromancer* is also a Witch or Wizzard, according to the definition produced above.

The rest of the Chapter being so inconsiderable, and I having been so long already upon it, I shall pass to the next, after I have desired you to take notice how weak and childish, or wild and impudent, Mr *Webster* has been in the Interpretation of Scripture hitherto, in the behalf of his sage Dames, to fence off their reproach of being termed Witches; whenas there is scarce one word in this place of *Deuteronomy* that does not imply a Witch or Wizzard, according to the real definition thereof. And truly he seems himself to be conscious of the weakness of his own performance, when, after all this ado, the sum at last amounts to but this; That there are no Names in all the Old Testament that signifie such a Witch that destroy Men or Beasts, that makes a visible compact with the Devil, or on whose body he sucketh, or with whom he hath carnal Copulation, or that is really changed into a Cat, Hare, Dog, or such like. And to shew it amounts to no more than so, was the task we undertook in this Chapter.

But assure your self, if you peruse his Book carefully, you shall plainly find, that the main drift thereof is to prove, as I above noted, that there is no such Witch as with whom the Devil has any thing more to do than with any other Sinner; which notwithstanding, this Conclusion of his a little before recited, comes infinitely short of: and therefore this sixth Chapter, consisting of about 30 pages in Folio, is a meer piece of impertinency. And there will be Witches for all this, whether these particularities be noted in them or no; For it was sufficient for *Moses* to name those ill sounding terms in general, which imply a Witch according to that general notion I have above delivered; which if it be prohibited, namely the having any thing to do with evil Spirits, their being sucked by them, or their having any lustful or venereous transactions with them, is much more prohibited.

But for some of these particularities also they may seem to be in some manner hinted at in some of the words, especially as they are rendred sometimes by skillful Interpreters: for מכשף [*Mecasseph*] is translated by *Vatablus*, and the vulgar Latine *Maleficus*, by the *Septuagint* φαρμακός, that is *Veneficus*; which words signifie mischievously enough both to Man and Beast. Besides that *Mecasseph* carries along with it the signification of Transformation also; and haply this may be the difference betwixt מכשף [*Mecasseph*] and מעונו [*Megnonen*] that the former uses prestigious Transformations to some great mischief, as where *Claus Magnus* tells of those that have transformed themselves into Wolves to Mens thinking, and have presently fall'n upon worrying of Sheep. Others transformed in their *Astral Spirit*, into various shapes, get into Houses, and do mischief to Men and Children, as I remember *Remigius* reports. And therefore it is less wonder that that sharp Law of *Moses* is against the מכשפה [*Mecassephah*] such a Witch as this is, *Thou shalt not suffer a Witch to live*; this may be a more peculiar signification of that word. And now for making a Compact with the Devil, how naturally does that name חובר חבר [*Chobher Chebher*] signifie that feat also? But for sucking and copulation, though rightly stated it may be true, yet I confess there is nothing hinted towards that, so far as I see, as indeed it was neither necessary that the other should be. But these are the very dregs, the *Fæx Magorum & Sagarum* that sink into those abominations, against which a sufficient Bar is put already by this prohibition in general by so many names. And the other is so filthy, base, and nasty, that the mention thereof was neither fit for the sacred Style of *Moses's* Law, nor for the Ears of the People.

In my passing to the eight Chapter I will onely take notice by the way of the shameless impudence of *J. Webster*, who in favour to his beloved Hags, that they may never be thought to do any thing by the assistance  
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of the Devil, makes the Victory of *Moses*, with whom the mighty hand of God was, or of Christ, (who was the Angel that appeared first to *Moses* in the Bush, and conducted the Children of *Israel* out of *Egypt* to the promised Land) to be the victory only over so many *Hocus-Pocusses*, so many Juglers that were, as it seems, old excellent at the tricks of Legerdemain; which is the basest derogation to the glory of that Victory, and the vilest reproach against the God of *Israel* and the Person of *Moses*, that either the malicious wit of any Devil can invent, or the dulness of any sunk Soul can stumble upon. Assuredly there was a real conflict here betwixt the Kingdom of Light and the Kingdom of Darknes, and the Evil Spirits thereof, which assisted the **הרטמים** [*Hartummim*] the Magicians of *Egypt*; who before that name is named, that no man may mistake, are called **מכשפים** [*Mecassaphim*] such kind of Magicians as can exhibit to the sight manifold prestigious Transformations through diabolical assistance, and are rendred *Malefici* by good Interpreters, as I noted above; that is, they were *Wizzards* or He-Witches. The self same word being used in that severe Law of *Moses*, *Thou shalt not suffer a Witch to live*. Are not these Magicians then examples plain enough that there are Witches; that is to say, such wretched Wights as do strange miraculous things by the assistance or consociation of evil Spirits?

O no, says Mr *Webster*, these are only **חכמים** [*Chacimim*] *Wisemen*, and great *Naturalists*, who all what they did, they did **בלהטיות**, by their bright glittering *Lamina*, for so **להטיות** forsooth must signifie. But what necessity thereof that **להט** should signifie *Lamina*? there is only the pretence of that one place, *Gen. 3. 24.* **להט הרב**, where it is **הרב** only that signifies the *Lamina*, and that of a long form, scarce usual in those magical *Lamina* with Signatures celestial upon them, which *J. Webster* would be at; but **להט** signifies meerly *Flamma*; so that **בלהטיות** by this account must signifie  
by



by their flames, if it be from *להט* *ardere*, *flammare*: And therefore *Buxtorfius* judiciously places the word under *לֹט* *abscondit*, *obvolvitur*, reading not *בִּלְהֵט הֵם*, but *בְּלֵאטֵיהֶם*, which is as much as to say, *occultis suis rationibus Magicis*, which is briefly rendred in English, by their *Enchantments*; which agrees marvellously well with *מְכַשְּׁפִים* [*Mecassephim*] which is as much as *Præstigiatores Magici*, or such as do strange wonderous things in an hidden way by the help of evil Spirits. But that the *Egyptian* Magicians should do those things that are there recorded of them in *Exodus*, by vertue of any *Lamels* or *Plates* of *Metal* with certain *Sculptures* or *Figures* under such or such a *Constellation*, is a thing so *fottish* and *foolish*, that no man that is not himself, bewitched by some old *Hag* or *Hobgoblin*, can ever take *Sanctuary* here to save himself or his old *Dames* from being in a capacity, from this *History* in *Exodus*, of being accounted *Witches*. For if there may be *He-witches*, that is, *Magicians*, such as these of *Egypt* were, I leave *J. Webster* to scratch his head to find out any reason why there may not be *She-witches* also.

And indeed that of the *Witch* of *Endor*, to pass at length to the eighth Chapter, is as plain a proof thereof as can be desired by any man whose mind is not blinded with prejudices. But here *J. Webster*, not impertinently, I confess, for the general, (abating him the many tedious particular impertinencies that he has clogged his Discourse with) betakes himself to these two ways, to shew there was nothing of a *Witch* in all that whole *Narration*. First, by pretending that all the transaction on the *Woman* of *Endor*'s part was nothing but collusion and a *Cheat*, *Saul* not being in the same *Room* with her, or at least seeing nothing if he was. And then in the next place, That *Samuel* that is said to appear, could neither be *Samuel* appearing in his *Body* out of the *Grave*, nor in his *Soul*; nor that it was a *Devil* that appeared: and therefore it must be some colluding *Knave* suborned by the *Witch*. For the discovering the weakness of his  
former

former Allegation, we need but to appeal to the Text, which is this, 1 Sam. 28. v. 8.

*And Saul said, I pray thee, divine unto me by the familiar spirit, and bring me up whom I shall name unto thee,* קסומי נארי; that is, do the office of a Divinerefs, or a Wife-woman, I pray thee, unto me, באוב [Beobb] by vertue of the *familiar Spirit*, whose assistance thou hast, not by vertue of the *Bottle*, as Mr Webster would have it. Does he think that *Damsel* in the *Acts* which is said to have had πνεῦμα πύθωνος, that is, to have had אוב [Obb] carried an Aquavitæ-bottle about with her, hung at her Girdle, whereby she might *divine and mutter, chirp, or peep out of it, as a Chicken out of an Egg-shell*, or put her Neb into it to cry like a *Bittern*, or take a dram of the Bottle to make her wits more quick and divinatory? Who but one that had taken too many drams of the Bottle could ever fall into such a fond conceit? Wherefore אוב [Obb] in this place does not, as indeed no where else, signifie an oracular Bottle or μαντήριον, into which *Saul* might desire the Woman of *Endor* to retire into, and himself expect answers in the next Room; but signifies that *familiar Spirit* by vertue of whose assistance she was conceived to perform all those wondrous offices of a Wife-woman. But we proceed to verse 11.

*Then said the woman, Whom shall I bring up unto thee? And he said, Bring me up Samuel.* Surely as yet *Saul* and the woman are in the same Room; and being the woman askt, *Whom shall I bring up unto thee?* and he answering, *Bring up unto me Samuel*, it implies that *Samuel* was so to be brought up that *Saul* might see him, and not the Witch only. But we go on, Verse 12.

*And when the woman saw Samuel, she cried with a loud voice: and the woman spake to Saul, saying, Why hast thou deceived me? for thou art Saul.* Though the Woman might have some suspicions before that it was *Saul*, yet she now seeing *Samuel* did appear, and in another kind of way than her Spirits used to do, and in another hue, as it is most likely so holy a Soul did, she presently cried out

out with a loud voice, (*not muttered, chirpt, and peept as a Chicken coming out of the Shell*) that now she was sure it was *Saul*: For she was not such a Fool as to think her Art could call up real *Samuel*, but that the presence of *Saul* was the cause thereof: And *Josephus* writes expressly, "Ὅτι θεασάμενον τὸ γυναικὸν ἀνδρα σεμνὸν καὶ θεοπρεπῆ ταράττεται, καὶ πρὸς τὴν ὅψιν ἐκπλαγδύ, ἡ δὲ σὺ, φησὶν, ὁ βασιλεὺς Σάουλ;" i. e. *The Woman seeing a grave God-like man, is startled at it, and thus astonished at the Vision, turned her self to the King, and said, Art not thou King Saul? Verse 13.*

*And the King said unto her, Be not afraid; for what sawest thou? And the Woman said unto Saul, I saw Gods ascending out of the Earth.* The King here assures the Woman, that though he was *Saul*, yet no hurt should come to her, and therefore bids her not be afraid: But she turning her face to *Saul*, as she spake to him, and he to her, and so her sight being off from the object, *Saul* asked her, *What sawest thou?* and she in like manner answered, *I saw Gods, &c.* For Gods I suppose any free Translator in Greek, Latin, and English, would say, δαίμονας, *Genios, Spirits.* And עֲלֵיָא signifies Angels as well as Gods; and it is likely these Wise women take the Spirits they converse with to be good Angels, as *Anne Bodenham* the Witch told a worthy and learned Friend of mine, That these Spirits, such as she had, were good Spirits, and would do a man all good offices all the days of his life; and it is likely this woman of *Endor* had the same opinion of hers, and therefore we need not wonder that she calls them עֲלֵיָא [*Elochim*] especially *Samuel* appearing among them, to say nothing of the presence of *Saul*. And that more than one Spirit appears at a time, there are repeated examples in *Anne Bodenham's* Magical Evocations of them, whose History, I must confess, I take to be very true.

The case stands therefore thus: The Woman and *Saul* being in the same Room, she turning her face from  
*Saul,*



*Saul*, mutters to her self some Magical form of evocation of Spirits; whereupon they beginning to appear and rise up, seemingly out of the Earth, upon the sight of *Samuel's* Countenance, she cryed out to *Saul*, and turning her face towards him spoke to him. Now that *Saul* hitherto saw nothing, though in the same Room, might be either because the body of the woman was interposed betwixt his eyes and them, or the Vehicles of those Spirits were not yet attempered to that conspissation that they would strike the eyes of *Saul*, though they did of the Witch. And that some may see an Object others not seeing it, you have an instance in the Child upon *Walker's* Shoulders appearing to Mr. *Fairbair*, and it may be, to the Judge, but invisible to the rest of the Court; and many such examples there are: But I proceed to *Verse* 14.

*And he said unto her, What form is he of? and she said, An old man cometh up, and is covered with a Mantle.* He asks here in the Singular number, because his mind was only fixt on *Samuel*. And the womans answer is exactly according to what the Spirit appeared to her, when her Eye was upon it, viz. *איש וקן עלה* *An old man coming up*; for he was but coming up when she looked upon him, and accordingly describes him: For *עלה* there is a Participle of the present Tense, and the woman describes *Samuel* from his Age, Habit, and Motion he was in, while her Eye was upon him. So that the genuine sense and Grammatical in this answer to, *What form is he of?* is this, an old man coming up, and the same covered with a Mantle, this is his form and condition I saw him in. Wherefore *Saul* being so much concerned herein, either the woman or he changing their postures or standings, or *Samuel* by this having sufficiently conspissated his Vehicle and fitted it to *Saul's* sight also, it follows in the Text, *And Saul perceived it was Samuel, and he stooped with his face to the ground and bowed himself.*

O the impudent profaneness and sottishness of perverse shufflers and whiffers, that upon the hearing of  
this

this passage can have the face to deny that *Saul* saw any thing, and merely because the word [*perceived*] is used, and not [*saw*]; when the word [*perceived*] plainly implies that he saw *Samuel*, and something more, namely, that by his former familiar converse with him, he was assured it was he. So exquisitely did he appear, and over-comingly to his senses, that he could not but *acknowledge* (for so the Hebrew word ידע signifies) that it was he, or else why did he stoop with his Face to the very Ground to do him honour?

No, no, says *J. Webster*, he saw nothing himself, but stood waiting like a drowned Puppet (see of what a base rude spirit this Squire of Hags is, to use such language of a Prince in his distress) in another Room, to hear what would be the issue; for all that he understood was from her cunning and lying relations. That this Gallant of Witches should dare to abuse a Prince thus, and feign him as much foolisher and sottisher in his *intellectuals*, as he was taller in *Stature* than the rest of the people, even by head and shoulders, and meerly, forsooth, to secure his old Wives from being so much as in a capacity of ever being suspected for Witches, is a thing extreamly coarse, and intolerably sordid. And indeed upon the consideration of *Saul's* being said to bow himself to *Samuel*, (which plainly implies that there was there a *Samuel* that was the object of his sight and of the reverence he made) his own heart misgives him in this mad adventure. And he shifts off from thence to a conceit that it was a confederate Knave that the woman of *Endor* turned out into the Room where *Saul* was, to act the part of *Samuel*, having first put on him her own short Cloak, which she used with her Maund under her arm to ride to Fairs or Markets in. To this Countrey-slouch in the womans Mantle, must King *Saul*, stooping with his face to the very ground, make his profound obeysance. What, was a Market-womans Cloak and *Samuel's* Mantle, which *Josephus* calls διπλοῖδα ἱερῶν, a *Sacerdotal habit*, so like one another? Or if not, how came this woman, being

ing so surprized of a sudden, to provide her self of such a Sacerdotal habit to cloak her confederate Knave in? Was *Saul* as well a *blind* as a *drowned* Puppet, that he could not discern so gross and bold an Imposture as this? Was it possible that he should not perceive that it was not *Samuel* when they came to confer together, as they did? How could that confederate Knave change his own Face into the same figure, look, and mien that *Samuel* had, which was exactly known to *Saul*? How could he imitate his Voice thus of a suddain, and they discoursed a very considerable time together?

Besides, Knaves do not use to speak what things are true, but what things are pleasing. And moreover, this woman of *Endor*, though a Pythoness, yet she was of a very good nature and benign, which *Josephus* takes notice of, and extols her mightily for it, and therefore she could take no delight to lay further weight on the oppressed Spirit of distressed King *Saul*; which is another sign that this Scene was acted *bonâ fide*, and that there was no couzening in it. As also that it is another; that she spoke so magnificently of what appeared to her, that she saw *Gods* ascending. Could she then possibly adventure to turn out a Country-flouch with a Maund-womans Cloak to act the part of so God-like and divine a Personage as *Samuel*, who was Θεὸς τῷ μορφῇ δυνάμει, as the woman describes him in *Josephus* Antiqu. Judaic. lib. 7. c. 15. Unto all which you may add, That the Scripture it self, which was written by Inspiration, says expressly, v. 20. that it was *Samuel*. And the son of *Sirach*, ch. 46. that *Samuel* himself prophesied after his death, referring to this story of the woman of *Endor*. But for our new-inspired Seers, or Saints, *S. Scot*, *S. Adie*, and if you will *S. Webster* sworn Advocate of the VVitches, who thus madly and boldly, against all sense and reason, against all antiquity, all Interpreters, and against the inspired Scripture it self, will have no *Samuel* in this Scene, but a cunning confederate Knave, whether the inspired Scripture, or these *inblown* Buffoons, puffed up with



with nothing but ignorance, vanity, and stupid infidelity, are to be believed, let any one judge.

Ve come now to his other Allegation, wherein we shall be brief, we having exceeded the measure of a Postscript already. *It was neither Samuel's Soul*, says he, *joined with his Body, nor his Soul out of his Body, nor the Devil*; and therefore it must be some confederate Knave suborned by that cunning cheating *Queen of Endor*. But I briefly answer, it was the Soul of *Samuel* himself; and that it is the fruitfulness of the great ignorance of *J. Webster* in the sound Principles of Theosophy and true Divinity, that has enabled him to heap together no less than Ten Arguments to disprove this Assertion, and all little to the purpose: So little indeed, that I think it little to the purpose particularly to answer them, but shall hint only some few Truths which will rout the whole band of them.

I say therefore, that departed Souls, as other Spirits, have an *ἀνθεξις* in them, such as Souls have in this life; and have both a faculty and a right to move of themselves, provided there be no express Law against such or such a design to which their motion tends.

Again, That they have a Power of appearing in their own personal shapes to whom there is occasion, as *Anne Walker's* Soul did to the Miller; and that this being a faculty of theirs either natural or acquirable, the doing so is no miracle. And

Thirdly, That it was the strong piercing desire, and deep distress, and agony of mind in *Saul*, in his perplexed circumstances, and the great compassion and goodness of Spirit in the holy Soul of *Samuel*, that was the effectual Magick that drew him to condescend to converse with *Saul* in the womans house at *Endor*, as a keen sense of Justice and Revenge, made *Anne Walker's* Soul appear to the Miller with her five Wounds in her head.

The rigid and harsh severity that *Webster* fancies *Samuel's* Ghost would have used against the Woman, or  
sharp

sharp reproofs to *Saul*; As for the latter, it is somewhat exprest in the Text, and *Saul* had his excuse in readiness, and the good Soul of *Samuel* was sensible of his perplexed condition. And as for the former, sith the Soul of *Samuel* might indeed have terrified the poor Woman, and so unhinged her, that she had been fit for nothing after it, but not converted her, it is no wonder if he passed her by; Goodness and Forbearance more befitting an holy Angelical Soul, than bluster and fury, such as is fancied by that rude Goblin that actuates the Body and Pen of *Webster*.

As for departed Souls, that they never have any care or regard to any of their fellow-Souls here upon Earth, is expressly against the known example of that great Soul, and universal Pastor of all good Souls, who appeared to *Stephen* at his stoning, and to *S. Paul* before his Conversion, though then in his glorified Body; which is a greater condescension than this of the Soul of *Samuel*, which was also to a Prince, upon whose shoulders lay the great affairs of the People of *Israel*: To omit that other notable example of the Angel *Raphael* so called, (from his office at that time, or from the Angelical Order he was adopted into after his death) but was indeed the Soul of *Azarias* the Son of *Ananias* the Great, and of *Tobit's* Brethren, *Tobit* ch. 5. 12. Nor does that which occurs, *Tob. 12. 15.* at all clash with what we have said, if rightly understood: for his saying, *I am Raphael one of the seven holy Angels which present the prayers of the Saints, and which go in and out before the glory of the Holy One*, in the Cabbalistick sense, signifies no more than thus, That he was one of the universal Society of the holy Angels, (and a *Raphael* in the Order of the *Raphaels*) which minister to the Saints, and reinforce the Prayers of good and holy men, by joining thereto their own; and as they are moved by God, minister to their necessities, unprayed to themselves, which would be an abomination to them, but extream prone to second the Petitions of holy sincere Souls, and forward to engage

in the accomplishing of them, as a truly good man would sooner relieve an indigent creature, over-hearing him making his moan to God in Prayer, than if he begged Alms of himself, though he might do that without sin. This Cabbalistical account, I think, is infinitely more probable, than that *Raphael* told a downright lye to *Tobit*, in saying he was the son of *Ananias* when he was not. And be it so, will *J. Webster* say, what is all this to the purpose, when the Book of *Tobit* is Apocryphal, and consequently of no Authority? What of no Authority? certainly of infinitely more Authority than *Mr Wagstaff*, *Mr Scot*, and *Mr Adie*, that *Mr Webster* so frequently and reverently quoteth.

I but, will he further add, these Apparitions were made to good and holy men, or to *elect Vessels*; but King *Saul* was a *wretched Reprobate*. This is the third liberal badge of honour that this ill-bred Advocate of the Witches has bestowed on a distressed Prince. First, a *drowned Puppet*, p. 170. then a *distracted Bedlam*, in the same Page, which I passed by before; and now, a *wretched Reprobate*: But assuredly *Saul* was a brave Prince and Commander, as *Josephus* justly describes him, and Reprobate only in Type, as *Ismael* and *Esau*; which is a mystery, it seems, that *J. Webster* was not aware of. And therefore no such wonder that the Soul of *Samuel* had such a kindness for him, as to appear to him in the depth of his distress, to settle his mind, by telling him plainly the upshot of the whole business, that he should lose the Battle, and he and his Sons be slain, that so he might give a specimen of the bravest Valour that ever was atchieved by any Commander, in that he would not suffer his Country to be over-run by the Enemy while he was alive, without resistance; but though he knew certainly he should fail of success, and he and his Sons dye in the Fight, yet in so just and honourable a Cause as the defence of his Crown and his Country, would give the Enemy Battle in the Field, and sacrifice his own Life for the safety of his People. Out of the knowledge of which  
noble



noble spirit in *Saul*, and his resolved valour in this point, those words haply may come from *Samuel*, *To morrow shalt thou and thy sons be with me*, (as an auspicious insinuation of their favourable reception into the other World) in מְהִיצַת צְדִיקִים in *thalamo justorum*, as *Munster* has noted out of the *Rabbins*.

Lastly, As for that weak imputation that this opinion of its being *Samuel's* Soul that appeared, is Popish, that is very Plebeianly and Idiotically spoken, as if every thing that the Popish Party are for, were Popish. We divide our zeal against so many things that we fancy Popish, that we scarce reserve a just share of detestation against what is truly so: Such as are that gross, rank, and scandalous impossibility of *Transubstantiation*, the various modes of fulsome *Idolatry* and lying *Impostures*, the *Uncertainty* of their *Loyalty* to their lawful Sovereigns by their superstitious adhesion to the spiritual Tyranny of the Pope, and that barbarous and ferine *Cruelty* against those that are not either such Fools as to be persuaded to believe such things as they would obtrude upon men, or are not so false to God and their own Consciences, as knowing better, yet to profess them.

As for that other opinion, that the greater part of the reformed Divines hold, That it was the Devil that appeared in *Samuel's* shape; and though *Grotius* also seems to be enclined thereto, alledging that passage of *Porphyrus*, *De Abstinencia Animalium*, where he describes one kind of Spirit to be, ἰένθ' ἀπατηλῆς φύσεως, παντομορφόνε καὶ πολύτροπον, ὑποκεινόμενον καὶ θεῷ καὶ δαίμονας καὶ ψυχὰς τεθνηκότων. (which is, I confess, very apposite to this story; nor do doubt but that in many of these Necromantick Apparitions, they are ludicrous Spirits, not the Souls of the deceased that appear) yet I am clear for the appearing of the Soul of *Samuel* in this story, from the reasons above alledged, and as clear, that in other Necromancies it may be the Devil, or such kind of Spirits as *Porphyrus* above describes, that change themselves into

*omnifarious forms and shapes, and one while act the parts of Demons, another while of Angels or Gods, and another while of the Souls of the deceased: And I confess such a spirit as this might personate Samuel here, for any thing Webster has alledged to the contrary. For his Arguments indeed are wonderfully weak and wooden, as may be understood out of what I have hinted concerning the former opinion. But I cannot further particularize now.*

For I have made my *Postscript* much longer than my Letter, before I was aware; and I need not enlarge to you, who are so well versed in these things already, and can by the quickness of your parts presently collect the whole measures of *Hercules* by his Foot, and sufficiently understand by this time it is no rash censure of mine in my Letter, That *Webster's* Book is but a weak impertinent piece of work, the very Master-piece thereof being so weak and impertinent, and falling so short of the scope he aims at, which was really to prove that there was no such thing as a Witch or Wizzard, that is, not any mention thereof, in Scripture, by any name of *one that had more to do with the Devil, or the Devil with him, than with other wicked men*; that is to say, of one who in vertue of Covenant, either implicit or explicit, did strange things by the help of evil Spirits, but *that there are many sorts of Deceivers and Impostors, and diverse persons, under a passive delusion of Melancholy and Fancy,* which is part of his very Title-page.

Whereby he does plainly insinuate, there is nothing but Couzenage or Melancholy in the whole business of the feats of Witches. But a little to mitigate or smother the grossness of this false Assertion, he adds, *And that there is no corporeal League betwixt the Devil and the Witch; and that he does not suck on the Witches Body, nor has carnal copulation with her, nor the Witches are turned into Dogs or Cats, &c.* All which things as you may see in his Book, he understands in the grossest manner imaginable, as if the Imps of Witches had Mouths of Flesh  
to

to suck them, and Bodies of Flesh lie with them. And at this rate he may understand a *corporeal* League, as if it were no League or Covenant, unless some Lawyer drew the Instrument, and engrossed it in Vellum or thick Parchment, and there were so many Witnesses with the Hand and Seal of the Party : nor any Transformation into Dogs or Cats, unless it were real and corporeal, or grossly carnal ; which none of his *Witchmongers*, as he rudely and slovenly calls that learned and serious person Dr. *Casaubon* and the rest, do believe. Only it is a disputable case of their *bodily* Transformation, betwixt *Bodinus* and *Remigius* ; of which more in my *Scholia*. But that without this carnal transmutation a Woman might not be accounted a Witch, is so foolish a supposition, that *Webster* himself certainly must be ashamed of it.

Wherefore if his Book be writ only to prove there is no such thing as a Witch that covenants in Parchment with the Devil, by the advice of a Lawyer, and is really and carnally turned into a Dog, Cat, or Hare, &c. and with carnal lips sucked by the Devil, and is one with whom the Devil lies carnally ; the scope thereof is manifestly impertinent, when neither Dr. *Casaubon* nor any one else holds any such thing. But as for the true and adequate notion of a Witch or Wizzard, such as at first I described, his Arguments all of them are too too weak or impertinent, as to the disproving the existence of such a Witch as this, who betwixt his *Deceivers*, *Impostours*, and *Melancholists* on one hand, and those *gross Witches* he describes, on the other hand, goes away there as a Hare in a green balk between too Lands of Corn, none of his Arguments reaching her or getting the sight of her, himself in the mean time standing on one side amongst the *Deceivers* and *Impostours*, his Book, as to the main design he drives at, being a meer *Cheat* and *Imposture*.

C. C. C. May 25. 1678.



# Advertisement.

**T**His Letter of Dr. More being left amongst other Papers appertaining to this new-intended Edition by Mr. Glanvil, and I perceiving in a Letter of his to the Doctor, that he had a mind this Letter should be published together with his Book, it is done accordingly, and prefixed at the beginning thereof, as natural Method requires, the Letter being hortatory to quicken Mr. Glanvil to dispatch his intended new Edition for the undeceiving of the World, and the Postscript containing many things of a general influence upon the whole Book. But that the Doctor may suffer no prejudice through this publishing of his Letter and Postscript, from the sharpness and satyricalness of them in some places, I shall for the more rightly understanding his meaning in the using that mode of writing upon this occasion, transcribe a passage of a Letter of his to his Friend Mr. Glanvil, relating thereto. I pray you send me word whether that Postscript will not meet with all the elusory cavils of that profane Buffoon, upon those places of holy Scripture: his unworthy usage of the Holy Writ, and his derisorous Interpretations of it in the behalf of his beloved Hags, provoked my indignation to such Schemes of deriding and expoling him, as otherwise I should never have condescended to. This is a sufficient Testimony of the Doctor's aversness from such manner of writing. But as Divines tell us, that Anger and Punishment are God's Opus Alienum, his strange work, as being more abhorrent from his nature; but yet for the good of the Universe he steps out sometimes into that dispensation: so I think it not misbecoming good men, sometimes to condescend, as the Doctor calls it, to the chastising prophane Drolls and Abusers of holy things, by a just derision and satyrical reprehension for their freakish and impious sauciness, provided it be done sincerely, and for the publick good.

*Saducismus Triumphatus :*

O R,

Full and plain EVIDENCE

Concerning

WITCHES

AND

APPARITIONS.

The First PART thereof containing

Philosophical Considerations,

Which defend their

POSSIBILITY.

Whereunto is added,

The true and genuine NOTION, and  
consistent Explication of the Nature

OF A

SPIRIT,

For the more full Confirmation of the  
POSSIBILITY of their EXISTENCE.

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LONDON,

Printed for *S. Lownds*, MDC LXXXVIII.





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To the Illustrious  
**CHARLES**  
DUKE of  
*Richmond and Lenox.*

My LORD,

**Y**OUR Grace having been pleased to command the first, and more imperfect Edition of this Discourse, I have presumed that your Candour will accept the Draught that hath had my last hand upon it. And though I am not fond enough to phancy any Art or Ornament in the composure to recommend it; yet, I know, the Essay is seasonable, and contains things which relate to our biggest Interests; the design being to secure some of the Out-works of Religion, and to regain a parcel of ground which bold Infidelity hath invaded. And, my Lord, I cannot but observe sadly, that while the Sects are venting their Animosities against each other, and scrambling for their Conceits, and the particular advantages of their way, they perceive not that Atheism comes on by large strides, and enters the Breaches they have made. Sober and considerate men see the formidable danger, and some of them have strenuously endeavoured to maintain the Walls, while the factions within are so busie and so divided, that they cannot attend the desperate

## The EPISTLE

desperate hazard, and will not join in a Common Defence. Among those generous Defendants I desire to pitch, and have undertaken to make good one of the Forts upon which the Enemy hath made impetuous Assaults, and I hope with no contemptible success.

For my part, my Lord, I am very little concerned for the small pedlaries that some mens fondness calls Religion, by which that sacred thing hath been exposed to a great deal of contempt and dishonour. But yet I think it my duty to have a zeal for those great and certain matters upon which our hopes in another world are grounded: And that our expectations of a future Being, are not imaginary and fantastick, we have reasonable evidence enough from the Attributes of God, the Phænomena of Providence, and the nature of our Souls, to convince any, but those who will stupidly believe that they shall dye like Beasts, that they may live like them. I confess the Philosophick Arguments that are produced for the desirable Article, though very cogent, are many of them speculative and deep, requiring so great an attention and sagacity, that they take no hold upon the whifling spirits, that are not used to consider; nor upon the common sort, that cannot reach such heights of Argument: But they are both best convinced by the proofs that come nearest the fence, which indeed strike our minds fullest, and leave the most lasting impressions; whereas high Speculations being more thin and subtle, easily slide off even from understandings that are most capable to receive them. For this reason, among some others, I appear thus much concerned for the justification of the belief of Witches, it suggest-  
ing

## DEDICATORY.

*ing palpable and current evidence of our Immortality, which I am exceedingly sollicitous to have made good.*

*For really, my Lord, if we make our compute like Men, and do not suffer our selves to be abused by the flatteries of Sense, and the deceitful gayeties that steal us away from God, and from our selves, there is nothing can render the thoughts of this odd life tolerable, but the expectation of another. And wise men have said, that they would not live a moment, if they thought they were not to live again. This perhaps some may take to be the discontented Paradox of a melancholick, vext, and of mean condition, that is pinched by the straitness of fortune, and envies the heights of others felicity and grandeurs; But by that time those that judge so, have spent the heats of frolick youth, and have past over the several stages of vanity; when they come to sit down, and make sober reflections upon their pleasures and pursuits, and sum up the accompt of all that is with them, and before them, I doubt not but their considering thoughts will make Solomon's Conclusion, and find, that 'tis but a misery to live, if we were to live for nothing else. So that if the content of the present life were all I were to have for the hopes of Immortality, I should even upon that account be very unwilling to believe that I was mortal: For certainly the pleasures that result from the thoughts of another World in those that not only see it painted in their imaginations, but feel it begun in their Souls, are as far beyond all the titillations of sense, as a real lasting happiness is beyond the delusive Images of a Dream. And therefore*



## The EPISTLE, &c.

*fore they that think to secure the enjoyment of their pleasures by the infamy of our natures in the overthrow of our future hopes, endeavour to dam up the Fountain of the fullest and cleanest delights ; and seek for limpid waters in the sinks and puddles of the Streets.*

*You see, my Lord, how my zeal for this mighty interest transports me to a greater length in this address, than perhaps may consist with strict decorum ; and I indulge my Pen the rather in this licence, because possibly your Grace's name may draw some eyes hither that have need of such suggestions, and those that have not need a great deal more. It cannot be proper to add here those large accounts which would be requisite in a design of full conviction : But for the present, if they shall please to look forward, they may likely meet some things not unfit for their serious thoughts ; and I intend to take a season to present them others, more particularly suitable to what I know is as much their interest, as I doubt it is their want.*

*But, my Lord, I fear I am importunate, and beseech your Grace to pardon the boldness of,*

My LORD,

Your Grace's

Most obedient Servant,

*Jos. Glanvil.*

# PREFACE.

**T**Here are a sort of narrow and confin'd Spirits, who account all Discourses needless, that are not for their particular purposes; and judge all the World to be of the Size and Genius of those within the Circle of their Knowledge and Acquaintance; so that with a pert and pragmatique Insolence, they censure all the braver Designs and Notices that lie beyond their Ken, as nice and impertinent Speculations: an ignorant and proud Injustice; as if this sort were the only persons, whose humour and needs should be consulted. And hence it comes to pass, that the greatest and worthiest things that are written or said, do always meet with the most general neglect and scorn, since the lesser people, for whom they were not intended, are quick to shoot their bolt, and to condemn what they do not understand, and because they do not. Whereas on the other side, those that are able to judge, and would incourage, are commonly reserv'd and modest in their sentences; or, if they should seek to do right to things that are worthy, they are sure to be out-voiced by the rout of ignorant contemners. Upon which accounts I have often thought that he that courts and values popular estimation, takes not the right way if he endeavour any thing that is really excellent: but he must study the little plausibilities, and accommodate the humour of the M A N Y, who are active Ministers of Fame, being zealous and loud in their applauses, as they are clamorous and impetuous in their oppositions. As for these, 'tis one of my chief cares to make my self as much unconcern'd at their Censures, as I am at the cacklings of a flock of Geese, or at the eager displeasure of those little snarling Animals, that are angry when I go along the Streets. Nor can any man be either wise or happy, till he hath arrived to that greatness of mind, that no more considers the tatling of the multitude than the whistling of the wind. Not that I think  
the

*the common people are to be contemned for the weakness of their understandings; 'tis an insolent meanness of spirit that doth that: but when conceited ignorance sits down in the Judgment Seat, and gives peremptory Verdicts upon things beyond its Line, the wise man smiles and passeth by. For such (if that may signifie any thing to keep them from troubling themselves about the following CONSIDERATIONS) I desire they would take notice from me, that I writ not those things for such as they; and they will do well to throw up the Book upon this Advertisement, except they will stay to hear, That though Philosophical Discourses to justify the common belief about Witches, are nothing at all to them, or those of their measure; yet they are too seasonable and necessary for our Age, in which Atheism is begun in Saducism: And those that dare not bluntly say, There is NO GOD, content themselves (for a fair step and Introduction) to deny there are SPIRITS or WITCHES. Which sort of Infidels, though they are not ordinary among the meer vulgar, yet are they numerous in a little higher rank of understandings. And those that know any thing of the World, know, that most of the looser Gentry, and the small pretenders to Philosophy and Wit, are generally deriders of the belief of Witches and Apparitions. And were this a slight and meer speculative mistake, I should not trouble my self or them about it. But I fear this error hath a Core in it that is worse than Heresie: and therefore how little soever I care what men believe or teach in matters of Opinion, I think I have reason to be concern'd in an affair that toucheth so near upon the greatest interests of Religion. And really I am astonisht sometimes to think into what a kind of Age we are fallen, in which some of the greatest impieties are accounted but Bugs, and terrible Names, invisible Tittles, Peccadillo's, or Chimera's. The sad and greatest instances are SACRILEGE, REBELLION, and WITCHCRAFT. For the two former, there are a sort of men (that are far from being profest Enemies to Religion) who, I do not know whether they own any such Vices. We find no mention of them*



*in their most particular Confessions, nor have I observed them in those Sermons that have contained the largest Catalogues of the Sins of our Age and Nation. 'Twere dangerous to speak of them as sins, for fear who should be found guilty. But my business at present is not with these, but the other, WITCHCRAFT, which I am sure was a Sin of elder times; and how comes it about that our Age, which so much out-does them in all other kinds of wickedness, should be wholly innocent in this? That there MAY be WITCHES and Apparitions in our days, notwithstanding the Objections of the modern Sadducee, I believe I have made appear in the CONSIDERATION following; in which I did not primarily intend direct Proof, but DEFENCE, as the Title of the first Edition, which is restor'd in these later mention'd.*

*And if it should be objected, That I have for the most part used only supposals and conjectural things in the vindication of the common belief, and speak with no point-blank assurance in my particular Answers, as I do in the general Conclusion; I need only say, That the Proposition I defend is matter of fact, which the dis-believers impugn by alledging that it cannot be, or it is not likely: In return to which, if I shew how those things may be, and probably, notwithstanding their allegations, though I say not downright that they are in the particular way I offer, yet 'tis enough for the design of Defence, though not for that of Proof: for when one saith a thing cannot be, and I tell him how possibly it may, though I hit not the just manner of it, I yet defeat the Objection against it, and make way for the evidence of the thing de Facto; which now I have added from the Divine Oracles, and two Modern Relations that are clear and unexceptionable.*

*I have no humour nor delight in telling Stories, and do not publish these for the gratification of those that have; but I record them as Arguments for the confirmation of a Truth which hath indeed been attested by multitudes of the like Evidences in all places and times. But things remote, or long past, are either not believed, or forgotten: whereas these*  
being

being fresh and near, and attended with all the circumstances of credibility, it may be expected they should have the more success upon the obstinacy of Unbelievers.

But after all this, I must confess, there is one Argument against me, which is not to be dealt with, viz. a mighty confidence grounded upon nothing, that swaggers, and huffs, and swears there are no *Mitches*. For such Philosophers as these, let them enjoy the Opinion of their own Superlative Judgments, and enter me in the first rank of Fools for crediting my Senses, and those of all the World, before their sworn *Dictates*. If they will believe in Scott, Hobbes, and Osborne, and think them more infallible than the Sacred Oracles, the History of all Ages, and the full experience of our own, who can help it? They must not be contradicted, and they are resolved not to be perswaded. For this sort of men, I never go about to convince them of any thing. If I can avoid it, I throw nothing before them, lest they should turn again, and rend me. Their Opinions came into their Heads by chance, when their little reasons had no notice of their entrance; and they must be let alone to go out again of themselves, the same way they entered. Therefore not to make much noise to disturb these infallible Huffers (and they cannot hear a little for their own) I softly step by them, leaving only this whisper behind me; That though their worshipful ignorance and sottishness can relish nothing of a Discourse that doth not minister to Sensuality and Unbelief, yet my CONSIDERATIONS have had the good fortune of a better reception from the braver and more generous Spirits, than my fondest hopes could have expected; and persons whose good thoughts I have reason to value, have assured me that their kindness to my Book hath improved upon second and more careful perusal: which I mention for this purpose, that those that need my Remarques and cannot feel them in a running reading, may please to turn their eyes back, and deliberately think over what I have offered; from which course I dare promise them more satisfaction than from their haste.

Bath, June 8. 1668.

J. G.

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SOME  
CONSIDERATIONS  
ABOUT  
Witchcraft.

In a LETTER to  
ROBERT HUNT, Esq.

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SECT. I.

SIR,

**T**HE frequent and late dealings you have had in the *Examination of Witches*, and the regards of one that hath a very particular honour for you, have brought you the trouble of some CONSIDERATIONS on the Subject. And though what I have to say, be but the unaccurate product of a little leisure; yet I hope it may afford you some, not unreasonable, Accounts of the odd *Phænomena* of *Witchcraft* and *Fascination*, and contribute to the DEFENCE of the *Truth*, and *Certainty* of matters, which you know by *Experiments* that could not deceive, in spite of the petty exceptions of those that are resolved to believe nothing in affairs of this nature.

And if any thing were to be much admired in an Age  
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of *Wonders*, not only of *Nature*, (which is a *constant Prodigy*) but of *Men* and *Manners*; it would be to me matter of *astonishment*, that *Men*, otherwise witty and *ingenious*, are fallen into the conceit that there is no such thing as a *Witch* or *Apparition*, but that these are the creatures of *Melancholy* and *Superstition*, foster'd by *ignorance* and *design*; which comparing the *confidence* of their *disbelief* with the *evidence* of the *things denied*, and the weakness of their *grounds*, would almost suggest that themselves are an *Argument* of what they *deny*; and that so confident an opinion could not be held upon such inducements, but by some kind of *Witchcraft* and *Fascination* in the *Fancy*. And perhaps that *evil Spirit* whose influences they will not allow in actions ascribed to such Causes, hath a greater hand and interest in their *Proposition* than they are aware of. For that subtle Enemy of Mankind (since *Providence* will not permit him to mischief us without our own *concurrence*) attempts that by *stratagem* and *artifice*, which he could never effect by *open ways* of acting; and the success of all wiles depending upon their *secrecy* and *concealment*, his influence is never more *dangerous* than when his *agency* is least *suspected*. In order therefore to the carrying on the *dark* and *hidden designs* he manageth against our happiness and our Souls, he cannot expect to advantage himself more, than by insinuating a belief, *That there is no such thing as himself*, but that *fear* and *fancy* make *Devils* now, as they did *Gods* of old. Nor can he ever draw the assent of men to so *dangerous* an assertion, while the *standing sensible evidences* of his *existence* in his practices, by and upon his *instruments*, are not discredited and removed.

'Tis doubtless therefore the interest of this *Agent* of *darkness* to have the World believe, that the *notion* they have of him is but a *phantôme* and conceit; and in order thereunto, that the stories of *Witches*, *Apparitions*, and indeed every thing that brings tidings of another World, are but *melancholick Dreams*, and *pious Romances*. And when men are arrived thus far to think there are no *diabolical*

*diabolical contracts* or *Apparitions*, their belief that there are such *Spirits* rests only upon their *Faith* and *Reverence* to the *Divine Oracles*, which we have little reason to apprehend so great in such Assertors. as to command much from their assent; especially in such things in which they have *corrupt interests* against their *evidence*. So that he that thinks there is no *Witch*, believes a *Devil gratis*, or at least upon inducements, which he is like to find himself disposed to deny when he pleaseth. And when men are arrived to this degree of *diffidence* and *infidelity*, we are beholden to them if they believe either *Angel*, or *Spirit*, *Resurrection* of the *Body*, or *Immortality* of *Souls*. These things hang together in a *Chain* of *connexion*, at least in these mens *Hypothesis*; and 'tis but an happy chance if he that hath lost one *link* holds another. So that the *vitals* of Religion being so much interess'd in this subject, it will not be unnecessary employment particularly to discourse it.

And in order to the proof that there have been, and are, *unlawful Confederacies* with *evil Spirits*, by vertue of which the *hellish accomplices* perform things above their natural powers: I must premise, that this being *matter of fact*, is only capable of the evidence of *authority* and *sense*; and by both these the being of *Witches* and *diabolical Contracts* is most abundantly confirm'd. All *Histories* are full of the exploits of those *Instruments of darkness*; and the *testimony* of all ages, not only of the *rude* and *barbarous*, but of the most *civiliz'd* and *polish'd* World, brings tidings of their strange performances. We have the *attestation* of thousands of Eye and Ear-witnesses, and those not of the easily-deceivable vulgar only, but of wise and grave discerners; and that, when no interest could oblige them to agree together in a common *Lye*. I say, we have the light of all these *circumstances* to confirm us in the belief of things done by persons of despicable power and knowledge, beyond the reach of *Art* and *ordinary Nature*. Standing publick *Records* have been kept of these well-attested *Relations*, and *Epocha's*

made of those unwonted events. Laws in many Nations have been enacted against those vile practices; those among the *Jews* and our *own* are *notorious*; such cases have been often determined near us, by *wise* and *reverend Judges*, upon clear and convictive Evidence: and thousands in our own Nation have *suffered death* for their *wile Compacts* with *Apostate Spirits*. All these I might largely prove in their particular instances, but that 'tis not needful, since those that deny the being of *Witches*, do it not out of ignorance of these heads of Argument, of which probably they have heard a thousand times; but from an *apprehension* that such a *belief is absurd*, and the things *impossible*. And upon these presumptions they condemn all demonstrations of this nature, and are hardened against conviction. And I think, those that can believe all *Histories* are *Romances*; That all the *wiser* world have agreed together to *juggle* mankind into a common belief of *ungrounded fables*; That the *sound senses* of *multitudes* together may deceive them, and *Laws* are built upon *Chimera's*; That the *gravest* and *wisest Judges* have been *Murderers*, and the *sagest* persons *Fools*, or *designing Impostors*: I say, those that can believe this *heap* of absurdities, are either more *credulous* than those whose *credulity* they reprehend; or else have some *extraordinary evidence* of their perswasion, *viz. That 'tis absurd and impossible there should be a Witch or Apparition*. And I am confident, were those *little appearances* remov'd which men have form'd in their fancies against the belief of such things, their own *evidence* would make its way to mens *assent*, without any more arguments than what they know already to enforce it. There is nothing then necessary to be done, in order to the establishing the belief I would reconcile to mens minds, but to endeavour the removal of those *prejudices* they have received against it: the chief of which I shall particularly deal with. And I begin with that bold *Affertion*, That



## SECT. II.

## I.

(1.) **T**HE NOTION of a Spirit is impossible and contradictory, and consequently so is that of Witches, the belief of which is founded on that Doctrine.

**T**O WHICH OBJECTION I Answer,  
(1.) If the notion of a Spirit be absurd as is pretended, that of a GOD and a SOUL distinct from matter, and immortal, are likewise absurdities. And then, that the World was jumbled into this elegant and orderly Fabrick by chance; and that our Souls are only parts of matter that came together we know not whence nor how, and shall again shortly be dissolv'd into those loose Atoms that compound them; That all our conceptions are but the thrusting of one part of matter against another; and the Idea's of our minds mere blind and casual motions. These, and a thousand more the grossest impossibilities and absurdities (consequents of this Proposition, That the notion of a Spirit is absurd) will be sad certainties and demonstrations. And with such Assertors I would cease to discourse about Witches and Apparitions, and address my self to obtain their assent to Truths infinitely more sacred.

And yet (2) though it should be granted them, that a substance immaterial is as much a contradiction as they can fancy; yet why should they not believe, that the Air and all the Regions above us, may have their invisible intellectual Agents, of Nature like unto our Souls, be that what it will, and some of them at least as much degenerate as the vilest and most mischievous among men? This Hypothesis will be enough to secure the possibility of Witches and Apparitions. And that all the upper Stories of the Universe are furnished with Inhabitants, 'tis infinitely reasonable to conclude, from the analogy of Nature;

ture; since we see there is nothing so contemptible and vile in the World we reside in, but hath its living Creatures that dwell upon it; the *Earth*, the *Water*, the *inferiour Air*, the *bodies of Animals*, the *flesh*, the *skin*, the *entrails*; the *leaves*, the *roots*, the *stalks of Vegetables*; yea, and all kind of *Minerals* in the *subterraneous Regions*. I say, all these have their proper *Inhabitants*; yea, I suppose this rule may hold in all distinct kinds of *Bodies* in the World. That they have their peculiar *Animals*, The certainty of which, I believe the improvement of *microscopical Observations* will discover. From whence I infer, That since this little Spot is so *thickly peopled* in every *Atome* of it, 'tis weakness to think that all the vast *spaces* above, and *hollows* under ground, are *desert* and *uninhabited*. And if both the *superiour* and *lower Continents* of the *Universe* have their *Inhabitants* also, 'tis exceedingly improbable, arguing from the same *analogy*, that they are all of the meer *sensible nature*, but that they are at least some of the *Rational* and *Intellectual Orders*. Which supposed, there is good foundation for the belief of *Witches* and *Apparitions*, though the notion of a *Spirit* should prove as *a'surd*, and *unphilosophical*, as I judge the denial of it. And so this first *Objection* comes to nothing. I descend then to the second *Prejudice*, which may be thus formed in behalf of the *Objectors*.

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### SECT. III.

#### II.

(II.) **T**HERE ARE Actions in most of those Relations ascribed to Witches, which are ridiculous and impossible in the nature of things; such are (1) Their flying out of Windows, after they have anointed themselves, to remote places. (2) Their transformation into Cats, Hares, and other Creatures. (3) Their feeling all the hurts in their own bodies which they have received in those. (4) Their

(4) *Their raising Tempests, by muttering some nonsensical words, or performing ceremonies alike impertinent as ridiculous.* And (5) *their being suck'd in a certain private place of their bodies by a Familiar.* These are presumed to be actions inconsistent with the nature of Spirits, and above the powers of those poor and miserable Agents. And therefore the Objection supposeth them performed only by the Fancy; and that the whole mystery of Witchcraft is but an illusion of crasie imagination.

TO this aggregate Objection I return, (1) In the general, The more *absurd* and *unaccountable* these actions seem, the greater *confirmations* are they to me of the *truth* of those *Relations*, and the reality of what the *Objectors* would destroy. For these circumstances being exceeding *unlikely*, judging by the measures of common belief, 'tis the greater probability they are not *fictitious*: For the contrivers of *Fictions* use to form them as near as they can conformably to the most *unsuspected realities*, endeavouring to make them look as *like truth* as is possible in the main *supposals*, though withal they make them strange in the *circumstance*. None but a Fool or a Madman would relate, with a purpose of having it believed, that he saw in *Ireland Men* with *hoofs* on their *heads*, and *eyes* in their *breasts*; or if any should be so ridiculously vain, as to be serious in such an *incredible Romance*, it cannot be supposed that all *Travellers* that come into those parts after him should tell the same story. There is a large *field* in *fiction*; and if all those *Relations* were *arbitrary compositions*, doubtless the first *Romancers* would have framed them more agreeable to the common doctrine of *Spirits*; at least, after these *supposed absurdities* had been a thousand times laugh'd at, people by this time would have learn'd to correct those *obnoxious extravagancies*; and though they have not yet more *veracity* than the *Ages of Ignorance* and *Superstition*, yet one would expect they should have got more *cunning*. This suppos'd *impossibility* then of these per-

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formances,



performances, seems to me a *probable argument* that they are not wilful and designed Forgeries. And if they are *Fancies*, 'tis somewhat strange, that *Imagination*, which is the most *various thing* in all the world, should infinitely repeat the same *conceit* in all times and places.

But again (2) the strange *Actions* related of *Witches*, and presumed *impossible*, are not ascribed to their own powers; but to the Agency of those wicked *Confederates* they imploy. And to affirm, that those *evil spirits* cannot do that which we conceit *impossible*, is boldly to stint the powers of *Creatures*, whose natures and faculties we know not; and to measure the world of *Spirits* by the narrow rules of our own *impotent beings*. We see among our selves the *performances* of some out-go the *conceits* and *possibilities* of others; and we know many things may be done by the *Mathematicks* and *Mechanick Artifice*, which common heads think *impossible* to be effected by the honest ways of *Art* and *Nature*. And doubtless, the *subtilities* and *powers* of those *mischievous Fiends*, are as much beyond the reach and activities of the most knowing *Agents* among us, as theirs are beyond the wit and ability of the most *rustick* and *illiterate*. So that the utmost that any mans reason in the world can amount to in this particular, is only this, That he cannot conceive how such things can be performed; which only argues the *weakness* and *imperfection* of our knowledge and apprehensions, not the *impossibility* of those performances: and we can no more from hence form an Argument against them, than against the most *ordinary effects* in *Nature*. We cannot conceive how the *Fœtus* is form'd in the *Womb*, nor as much as how a *Plant* springs from the *Earth* we tread on; we know not how our *Souls* move the *Body*, nor how these distant and extream *natures* are *united*; as I have abundantly shewn in my *SCEPSIS SCIENTIFICA*. And if we are ignorant of the most *obvious* things about us, and the most *considerable* within our selves, 'tis then no wonder that we know not the *constitution* and *powers* of the *Creatures*, to whom

we

we are such strangers. Briefly then, *matters of fact* well proved ought not to be denied, because we cannot *conceive* how they can be performed. Nor is it a reasonable method of inference, first to presume the thing *impossible*, and thence to conclude, that the *fact* cannot be *proved*. On the contrary, we should judge of the *action* by the *evidence*, and not the *evidence* by the measures of our fancies about the *action*. This is proudly to exalt our own *opinions* above the clearest *testimonies* and most sensible *demonstrations* of *fact*: and so to give the *Lye* to all *Mankind*, rather than distrust the *conceits* of our bold *imagination*s. But yet further,

(3) I think there is nothing in the *instances* mention'd, but what may as well be accounted for by the Rules of *Reason* and *Philosophy*, as the ordinary affairs of *Nature*. For in resolving *natural Phenomena*, we can only assign the probable *causes*, shewing how things *may be*, not presuming how they *are*. And in the particulars under our *Examen*, we may give an account how 'tis *possible*, and not *unlikely*, that such things (though somewhat varying from the common *road* of *Nature*) may be acted. And if our narrow and contracted minds can furnish us with apprehensions of the way and manner of such performances, though perhaps not the true ones, 'tis an argument that such things may be effected by creatures whose powers and knowledge are so vastly exceeding ours. I shall endeavour therefore briefly to suggest some things that may render the *possibility* of these performances *conceivable*, in order to the removal of this *Objection*, that they are *contradictions* and *impossible*.

For the *FIRST* then, That the *confederate Spirit* should transport the *Witch* through the *Air* to the place of general *Rendezvous*, there is no difficulty in conceiving it; and if that be true which great Philosophers affirm, concerning the real *separability* of the *Soul* from the *Body* without *death*, there is yet *less*; for then 'tis easie to apprehend, that the *Soul* having left its gross and sluggish *body* behind it, and being cloath'd only with

with its *immediate vehicle of Air*, or more *subtile matter*, may be quickly conducted to any place it would be at by those *officious Spirits* that attend it. And though I adventure to affirm nothing concerning the truth and certainty of this *Supposition*, yet I must needs say, it doth not seem to me *unreasonable*. And our experience of *Apoplexies*, *Epilepsies*, *Ecstasies*, and the strange things men report to have seen during those *Deliquiums*, look favourably upon this *conjecture*; which seems to me to contradict no principle of *Reason* or *Philosophy*; since *Death* consists not so much in the *actual separation of Soul and Body*, as in the *indisposition and unfitness of the Body for vital union*, as an excellent Philosopher hath made good. On which *Hypothesis*, the *Witches* anointing her self before she takes her flight, may perhaps serve to keep the *Body tenantable*, and in fit *disposition* to receive the *Spirit* at its return. These things, I say, we may conceive, though I affirm nothing about them; and there is not any thing in such *conceptions* but what hath been own'd by men of worth and name, and may seem *fair and accountable* enough to those who judge not altogether by the measures of the *populace* and *customary opinion*. And there's a saying of the great *Apostle* that seems to countenance this *Platonick* notion; what is the meaning else of that expression, [*Whether in the body or out of the body, I cannot tell*] except the *Soul* may be separated from the *Body* without *death*? which if it be granted *possible*, 'tis sufficient for my purpose. And

(2) The *Transformations* of *Witches* into the *shapes* of other *Animals*, upon the same supposal is very *conceivable*, since then 'tis easie enough to imagine, that the power of *imagination* may form those *passive* and *pliable vehicles* into those *shapes*, with more ease than the fancy of the *Mother* can the stubborn matter of the *Fœtus* in the *Womb*, as we see it frequently doth in the instances that occur of *Signatures* and *monstrous Singularities*; and perhaps sometimes the *confederate Spirit* puts tricks upon the senses of the *Spectators*, and those *shapes* are only *illusions*.

But



But then (3) when they feel the *hurts* in their gross bodies, that they receive in their *airy vehicles*, they must be supposed to have been really present, at least in these latter; and 'tis no more difficult to apprehend how the hurts of *those* should be translated upon their other *bodies*, than how *diseases* should be *inflicted* by the *imagination*, or how the *fancy* of the *Mother* should wound the *Fœtus*, as several credible relations do attest.

And (4) for their raising *Storms* and *Tempests*, They do it not, to be sure, by their *own*, but by the *power* of the *Prince of the Air*, their Friend and Allie; and the *Ceremonies* that are enjoyn'd them are doubtless nothing else but *entertainments* for their *imagination*s, and are likely design'd to perswade them, that *they* do these strange things *themselves*.

And (lastly) for their being *suck'd* by the *Familiar*, I say (1) we know so little of the nature of *Demons* and *Spirits*, that 'tis no wonder we cannot certainly divine the reason of so strange an action. And yet (2) we may conjecture at some things that may render it less *improbable*. For some have thought that the *Genii* (whom both the *Platonical* and *Christian Antiquity* thought *embodied*) are recreated by the *reeks* and *vapours* of *humane blood*, and the *spirits* that proceed from them: Which supposal (if we grant them bodies) is not unlikely, every thing being *refresh'd* and *nourish'd* by its like. And that they are not perfectly *abstract* from all *body* and *matter*, besides the reverence we owe to the wisest antiquity, there are several considerable Arguments I could alledge to render it exceeding probable. Which things supposed, the *Devil's sucking* the *Sorceress* is no great wonder, nor difficult to be accounted for. Or perhaps (3) this may be only a *diabolical Sacrament* and *Ceremony* to confirm the *hellish Covenant*. To which I add, (4) That which to me seems most probable, *viz.* That the *Familiar* doth not only suck the *Witch*, but in the action infuseth some *poysinous ferment* into her, which gives her *Imagination*s and *Spirits* a  
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*magical tincture*, whereby they become *mischievously influential*; and the word *venefica* intimates some such matter. Now that the *imagination* hath a mighty power in operation, is seen in the just now mention'd *Signatures* and *Diseases* that it causeth; and that the *fancy* is modified by the *qualities* of the *blood* and *spirits*, is too evident to need proof. Which things supposed, 'tis plain to conceive that the *evil spirit* having breath'd some vile vapour into the *body* of the *Witch*, it may taint her *blood* and *spirits* with a *noxious quality*, by which her *infected imagination*, heightened by *melancholy* and this worse cause, may do much hurt upon *bodies* that are *impressible* by such *influences*. And 'tis very likely that this *ferment* disposeth the *imagination* of the *Sorcerefs* to cause the mentioned ἀπορροια, or *separation* of the *Soul* from the *Body*, and may perhaps keep the *Body* in fit temper for its *re-entry*; as also it may facilitate *transformation*, which, it may be, could not be effected by *ordinary* and *unassisted* imagination.

Thus we see, 'tis not so desperate to form an apprehension of the manner of these odd performances; and though they are not done the way I have describ'd, yet what I have said may help us to a conceit of the possibility, which sufficeth for my purpose. And though the *Hypothesis* I have gone upon will seem as *unlikely* to some, as the things they attempt to explain are to others; yet I must desire their leave to suggest, that most things seem *improbable* (especially to the *conceited* and *opinionative*) at first *proposal*: and many great *truths* are *strange* and *odd*, till *custom* and *acquaintance* have reconciled them to our *fancies*. And I'll presume to add on this occasion, (though I love not to be confident in *affirming*) that there is none of the *Platonical supposals* I have used, but what I could make appear to be *fair* and *reasonable*, to the capable and unprejudic'd.

## S E C T. IV.

## III.

**B**UT (III.) *I come to another prejudice against the being of Witches, which is, That 'tis very improbable that the Devil, who is a wise and mighty Spirit, should be at the beck of a poor Hag, and have so little to do, as to attend the Errands and impotent Lusts of a silly Old Woman.*

**T**O which I might answer, (1) That 'tis much more *improbable* that all the world should be *deceiv'd* in matters of *fact*, and circumstances of the clearest evidence and conviction; than that the *Devil*, who is *wicked*, should be also *unwise*; and that he that *perswades* all his subjects and accomplices out of their Wits, should himself act like his own Temptations and Perswasions. In brief, there is nothing more strange in this Objection, than that *wickedness is baseness and servility*; and that the *Devil* is at leisure to serve those, he is at leisure to tempt, and industrious to *ruine*. And again, (2) I see no necessity to believe that the *Devil* is always the *Witches Confederate*; but perhaps it may fitly be considered, whether the *Familiar* be not some *departed humane Spirit*, forsaken of God and goodness, and swallowed up by the unsatiable desire of mischief and revenge, which possibly by the *Laws* and *capacity* of its *state* it cannot execute *immediately*. And why we should presume that the *Devil* should have the liberty of wandering up and down the Earth and Air, when he is said to be *held* in the *Chains of darkness*; and yet that the *separated Souls* of the *wicked*, of whom no such thing is affirm'd in any *sacred Record*, should be thought so *imprison'd*, that they cannot possibly wag from the place of their *confinement*, I know no shadow of conjecture. This conceit I'm confident hath prejudic'd many against the belief of *Witches* and



and *Apparitions*; they not being able to conceive that the *Devil* should be so *ludicrous* as *appearing spirits* are sometimes reported to be in their *frolicks*; and they presume, that *souls departed never revisit the free and open Regions*; which confidence, I know nothing to justify: For since good men in their *state of separation* are said to be *ισάγγελοι*, why the *wicked* may not be supposed to be *ισοδαίμονες* in the worst sense of the word, I know nothing to help me to imagine. And if it be supposed that the *Imps of Witches* are sometimes wicked *spirits* of our own kind and nature, and possibly the same that have been *Sorcerers* and *Witches* in this life: This supposal may give a fairer and more probable account of many of the actions of *Sorcery* and *Witchcraft*, than the other *Hypothesis*, that they are always *Devils*. And to this conjecture I'll adventure to subjoyn another, which also hath its *probability*, viz. (3) That 'tis not impossible but the *Familiars of Witches* are a vile kind of *spirits*, of a very inferior Constitution and Nature, and none of those that were once of the highest *Hierarchy*, now degenerated into the *spirits* we call *Devils*. And for my part I must confess, that I think the common *division of spirits* much too general; conceiving it likely there may be as great a *variety of Intellectual Creatures* in the *invisible world*, as there is of *Animals* in the *visible*: and that all the *superiour*, yea, and *inferior Regions*, have their several kinds of *spirits* differing in their *natural perfections*, as well as in the *kinds and degrees* of their *depravities*; which being supposed, 'tis very probable that those of the *basest and meanest Orders* are they, who submit to the mention'd *servilities*. And thus the *sage*s and *grandeur* of the *Prince of darkness* need not be brought into question.

## S E C T. V.

## IV.

**B**UT (IV) *the opinion of Witches seems to some to accuse Providence, and to suggest that it hath exposed Innocents to the fury and malice of revengeful Fiends ; yea, and supposeth those most obnoxious, for whom we might most reasonably expect a more special tutelary care and protection ; most of the cruel practices of those presum'd Instruments of Hell, being upon Children, who as they least deserve to be deserted by that Providence that superintends all things, so they most need its guardian influence.*

**T**O this so specious an *Objection* I have these things to answer.

(1) *Providence is an unfathomable Depth ; and if we should not believe the Phenomena of our senses, before we can reconcile them to our notions of Providence, we must be grosser Scepticks than ever yet were extant. The miseries of the present life, the unequal distributions of good and evil, the ignorance and barbarity of the greatest part of Mankind, the fatal disadvantages we are all under, and the hazard we run of being eternally miserable and undone ; these, I say, are things that can hardly be made consistent with that Wisdom and Goodness that we are sure hath made and mingled it self with all things. And yet we believe there is a beauty and harmony, and goodness in that Providence, though we cannot unriddle it in particular instances ; nor, by reason of our ignorance and imperfection, clear it from contradicting appearances ; and consequently, we ought not deny the being of Witches and Apparitions, because they will create us some difficulties in our notions of Providence. But to come more close, (2) Those that believe that Infants are Heirs of Hell, and Children of the Devil as soon as they are disclosed to the World, cannot certainly offer such*

such an Objection ; for what is a little *trifling pain* of a moment, to those *eternal Tortures*, to which, if they *die as soon as they are born*, according to the Tenour of this Doctrine, they are *everlastingly exposed*? But however the case stands as to *that*, 'tis certain, (3) That *Providence* hath not secured them from *other violences* they are obnoxious to, from *cruelty* and *accident*; and yet we accuse *It* not when a whole Townful of *Innocents* fall a *Victim* to the *rage* and *ferity* of *barbarous Executioners* in *Wars* and *Massacres*. To which I add (4) That 'tis likely the *mischief* is not so often done by the *evil spirit immediately*, but by the *malignant influences* of the *Sorcerers*, whose *power* of hurting consists in the fore-mentioned *ferment*, which is *infused* into her by the *Familiar*. So that I am apt to think there may be a *power of real fascination* in the *Witches eyes* and *imagination*, by which for the most part she acts upon *tender bodies*. *Nescio quis teneros oculus* ——— For the *pestilential spirits* being darted by a *spightful and vigorous imagination* from the *eye*, and meeting with *those* that are *weak and passive* in the bodies which they enter, will not fail to infect them with a *noxious quality* that makes *dangerous* and *strange alterations* in the person invaded by this *poisonous influence*: which way of acting by *subtile* and *invisible instruments*, is *ordinary* and *familiar* in all *natural efficiencies*. And 'tis now past question, that *nature* for the most part acts by *subtile streams* and *aporrhœa's* of *minute particles*, which pass from one body to another. Or however that be, this kind of *agency* is as *conceivable* as any one of those *qualities* *ignorance* hath cal'd *Sympathy* and *Antipathy*, the reality of which we doubt not, though the manner of *action* be *unknown*. Yea, the thing I speak of is as *easy* to be apprehended, as how *infection* should pass in certain *tenuous streams* through the *Air* from one House to another; or, as how the *biting* of a *mad Dog* should fill all the *Blood* and *Spirits* with a *venomous* and *malign ferment*; the application of the *vertue* doing the same in our case, as *that of contact* doth in



in *this*. Yea, some kinds of *fascination* are perform'd in this grosser and more sensible way, as by *striking*, giving *Apples*, and the like, by which the *contagious quality* may be transmitted, as we see *Diseases* often are by the *touch*. Now in this way of conjecture a good account may be given why *Witches* are most powerful upon *Children* and timorous persons, *viz.* because their *spirits* and *imaginations* being *weak* and *passive*, are not able to resist the *fatal invasion*; whereas men of bold minds, who have plenty of *strong* and *vigorous spirits*, are secure from the *contagion*; as in *pestilential Airs* clean bodies are not so liable to infection as other tempers. Thus then we see 'tis likely enough, that very often the *Sorceress* her self doth the *mischief*; and we know, *de facto*, that *Providence* doth not always secure us from one anothers *injuries*: And yet I must confess, that many times also the evil *spirit* is the *mischievous Agent*; though this confession draw on me another Objection, which I next propose.

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## SECT. VI.

### V.

(V.) **T**HEN it may be said, that if wicked spirits can hurt us by the direction, and at the desire of a Witch, one would think they should have the same power to do us injury without instigation or compact; and if this be granted, 'tis a wonder that we are not always annoy'd and infested by them. To which

**I** RETURN, (1) That the *Laws*, *Liberties*, and *Restraints* of the *Inhabitants* of the other world are to us utterly *unknown*; and this way we can only argue our selves into *confessions* of our *ignorance*, which every man must acknowledge that is not as *immodest* as *ignorant*. It must be granted by all that own the *being*,  
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power,

power, and malice of evil Spirits, that the security we enjoy is wonderful, whether they act by *Witches* or not; and by what *Laws* they are kept from making us a prey, to speak like *Philosophers*, we cannot tell: yea, why they should be permitted to tempt and ruine us in our *Souls*, and restrain'd from touching or hurting us in our *Bodies*, is a *mystery* not easily *accountable*. But yet (2) though we acknowledge their power to vex and torment us in our *Bodies* also; yet a reason may be given why they are less frequent in this kind of mischief, *viz.* because their main designs are levell'd against the interest and happiness of our *Souls*; which they can best promote, when their actions are most *sly* and *secret*; whereas did they ordinarily persecute men in their *Bodies*, their *agency* and *wicked influence* would be discover'd, and make a mighty noise in the world, whereby men would be awaken'd to a suitable and vigorous opposition, by the use of such means as would engage *Providence* to rescue them from their *rage* and *cruelties*; and at last defeat them in their great purposes of *undoing us eternally*. Thus we may conceive that the *security* we enjoy may well enough consist with the *power* and *malice* of those *evil Spirits*; and upon this account we may suppose that *Laws* of their own may prohibit their *unlicens'd injuries*, not from any *goodness* there is in their *Constitutions*, but in order to the more *successful* carrying on the *projects* of the *dark Kingdom*; as *Generals* forbid *Plunder*, not out of *love* to their *Enemies*, but in order to their own *Success*. And hence (3) we may suppose a *Law of permission* to hurt us at the instance of the *Sorcerers*, may well stand with the *polity* of *Hell*, since by gratifying the wicked person, they encourage her in *malice* and *revenge*, and promote thereby the main ends of their *black confederacy*, which are to propagate *wickedness*, and to ruine us in our *eternal interests*. And yet (4) 'tis clear to those that believe the *History* of the *Gospel*, that *wicked spirits* have vexed the *bodies* of men, without any *instigation* that we read of; and at this day 'tis very likely that

that many of the *strange accidents* and *diseases* that befall us, may be the *infliction* of *evil spirits*, prompted to hurt us only by the delight they take in *mischiefs*. So that we cannot argue the improbability of their hurting *Children* and others by *Witches*, from our own *security* and *freedom* from the effects of their *malice*, which perhaps we feel in more instances than we are aware of.

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## SECT. VII.

### VI.

**B**UT (VI) another prejudice against the belief of Witches, is, a presumption upon the enormous force of melancholy and imagination, which without doubt can do wonderful things, and beget strange persuasions; and to these causes some ascribe the presum'd effects of Sorcery and Witchcraft. To which I reply briefly; and yet I hope sufficiently,

(1.) **T**HAT to resolve all the *clear* circumstances of *Fact*, which we find in well-attested and confirm'd Relations of this kind, into the power of *deceivable imagination*, is to make *fancy* the greater prodigie; and to suppose, that it can do *stranger feats* than are believed of any other kind of *fascination*. And to think that *Pins* and *Nails*, for instance, can by the power of *imagination* be conveyed within the skin; or that *imagination* should deceive so many as have been witnesses in *Objects of sense*, in all the circumstances of *discovery*; this, I say, is to be infinitely more *credulous* than the assertors of *Sorcery* and *Demoniack Contracts*. And by the same reason it may be believed, that all the *Battles* and *strange events* of the World, which our selves have not seen, are but *dreams* and *fond imaginations*, and like those that are fought in the *Clouds*, when the *Brains* of the *deluded Spectators* are the only *Theatre* of those *fancied*



*ciated transactions.* And (2) to deny evidence of *act*, because *their imagination may deceive the Relators*, when we have no reason to think so, but a bare presumption that there is no such thing as is related, is quite to destroy the credit of all *humane testimony*, and to make all *men liars* in a larger sence than the *Prophet* concluded in his *haste*. For not only the *melancholick* and the *fanciful*, but the *grave* and the *sober*, whose judgments we have no reason to suspect to be tainted by their *imaginations*, have from their own knowledge and experience made reports of this nature. But to this it will possibly be rejoin'd, and the *Reply* will be another *prejudice* against the belief for which I contend, *viz.*

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## SECT. VIII.

### VII.

(VII.) **T**hat 'tis a suspicious circumstance that Witchcraft is but a fancy, since the persons that are accused are commonly poor and miserable old Women, who are over-grown with discontent and melancholy, which are very imaginative: and the persons said to be bewitch'd are for the most part Children, or people very weak, who are easily imposed upon, and are apt to receive strong impressions from nothing: whereas were there any such thing really, 'tis not likely, but that the more cunning and subtil desperado's, who might the more successfully carry on the mischievous designs of the dark Kingdom, should be oftner engaged in those black confederacies, and also one would expect effects of the hellish combination upon others than the innocent and ignorant.

**T**O which Objection it might perhaps be enough to return (as hath been above suggested) that nothing can be concluded by *this* and such like arguings, but that the *policy and menages of the Instruments of darkness*

ness are to us altogether *unknown*, and as much in the dark as their Natures; Mankind being no more acquainted with the *reasons* and *methods* of action in the other World, than poor *Cottagers* and *Mechanicks* are with the *Intrigues* of Government, and *Reasons* of State. Yea peradventure (2) 'tis one of the great designs, as 'tis certainly the *Interest* of those wicked *Agents* and *Machinators*, industriously to hide from us their *influences* and ways of acting, and to work, as near as is possible, *incognito*: upon which supposal 'tis easie to conceive a reason, why they most commonly work by, and upon the weak and the ignorant, who can make no *cunning observations*, or tell *credible tales* to detect their artifice. Besides (3) 'tis likely a *strong imagination*, that cannot be *weakn'd* or *disturb'd* by a busie and subtile *ratiocination*, is a necessary requisite to those wicked performances; and without doubt an *heightned* and *obstinate fancy* hath a great influence upon *impressible spirits*; yea, and as I have conjectur'd before, on the more *passive* and *susceptible bodies*. And I am very apt to believe, that there are as *real communications* and *intercourses* between our *Spirits*, as there are between *material Agents*; which *secret influences*, though they are unknown in their nature and ways of acting, yet they are sufficiently felt in their effects: for *experience* attests, that some by the very *majesty* and *greatness* of their *Spirits*, discovered by nothing but a certain *noble air* that accompanies them, will *bear down* others *less great* and *generous*, and make them *sneak* before them; and some, by I know not what *stupifying vertue*, will tie up the *tongue*, and confine the *spirits* of those who are otherwise *brisk* and *voluble*. Which thing supposed, the *influences* of a *Spirit* possessed of an *active* and *enormous imagination*, may be *malign* and *fatal* where they cannot be resisted; especially when they are accompanied by those *poysenous reaks* that the *evil spirit* breaths into the *Sorcerers*, which likely are *shot out*, and applied by a *fancy* heightned and prepared by *melancholy* and *discontent*. And thus we may conceive

why the *melancholick* and *envious* are used upon such occasions, and for the same reason the *ignorant*, since *knowledge* checks and controuls *imagination*; and those that abound in the *imaginative faculties*, do not usually exceed in the *rational*. And perhaps (4) the *Demon* himself useth the *imagination* of the *Witch* so qualified for his purpose, even in those actions of mischief which are more properly his; for it is most probable, that *Spirits* act not upon *bodies immediately*, and by their *naked essence*, but by *means proportionate*, and suitable *instruments* that they use; upon which account likely 'tis so strictly required, that the *Sorceress* should believe, that so her *imagination* might be more at the devotion of the *mischievous Agent*, and for the same reason also *Ceremonies* are used in *Inchantments*, viz. for the begetting this *diabolical faith*, and heightning the *fancy* to a degree of *strength* and *vigour* sufficient to make it a fit *instrument* for the design'd performance. Those I think are reasons of likelihood and probability, why the *hellish Confederates* are mostly the *ignorant* and the *melancholick*. To pass then to another prejudice.

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 SECT. IX.

## VIII.

(VIII.) **T**HE frequent impostures that are met with in this kind, beget in some a belief, that all such Relations are Forgeries and Tales; and if we urge the evidence of a story for the belief of Witches or Apparitions, they will produce two as seemingly strong and plausible, which shall conclude in mistake or design; inferring thence, that all others are of the same quality and credit. But such arguers may please to consider,

(1) That



(1) **T**HAT a *single relation* for an *Affirmative*, sufficiently confirmed and attested, is worth a thousand *tales* of *forgery* and *imposture*, from whence an *universal Negative* cannot be concluded. So that, though all the *Objectors stories* be *true*, and an hundred times as many more such *deceptions*; yet one *relation*, wherein no *fallacy* or *fraud* could be suspected for our *Affirmative*, would spoil any *Conclusion* could be erected on them. And,

(2) It seems to me a belief sufficiently *bold* and *precarious*, that all these relations of *forgery* and *mistake* should be certain, and not one among all those which attest the *Affirmative reality*, with circumstances as good as could be expected, or wish'd, should be *true*; but all *fabulous* and *vain*. And they have no reason to object *credulity* to the assertors of *Sorcery* and *Witchcraft*, that can swallow so large a morsel. And I desire such *Objectors* to consider,

(3) Whether it be fair to infer, That because there are some *Cheats* and *Impostures*, that therefore there are no *Realities*. Indeed frequency of deceit and fallacy will warrant a greater care and caution in *examining*; and *scrupulosity* and *shiness* of *assent* to things wherein fraud hath been *practised*, or may in the least degree be *suspected*: But, to conclude, because that an old Woman's *fancy* abused her, or some *knavish* fellows put tricks upon the *ignorant* and *timorous*, that therefore whole *Affises* have been a thousand times deceived in *judgments* upon *matters of fact*, and numbers of sober persons have been *forsworn* in things wherein *perjury* could not advantage them; I say, such *inferences* are as void of *reason*, as they are of *charity* and *good manners*.

## S E C T. X.

## IX.

**B**UT (IX.) it may be suggested further, That it cannot be imagin'd what design the Devil should have in making those solemn compacts, since persons of such debauch'd and irreclaimable dispositions as those with whom he is supposed to confederate, are pretty securely his, antecedently to the bargain, and cannot be more so by it, since they cannot put their Souls out of possibility of the Divine Grace, but by the Sin that is unpardonable; or if they could so dispose and give away themselves, it will to some seem very unlikely, that a great and mighty Spirit should oblige himself to such observances, and keep such ado to secure the Soul of a silly Body, which 'twere odds but it would be His, though he put himself to no further trouble than that of his ordinary temptations.

**T**O which suggestions 'twere enough to say, that 'tis sufficient if the thing be well prov'd, though the design be not known. And to argue *negatively à fine*, is very unconvulsive in such matters. The Laws and Affairs of the other World (as hath been intimated) are vastly differing from those of our Regions, and therefore 'tis no wonder we cannot judge of their designs, when we know nothing of their *menages*, and so little of their *natures*. The ignorant *looker-on* can't imagine what the *Limner* means by those seemingly rude *Lines* and *scrawls* which he intends for the *Rudiments* of a *Pi-cture*: and the *Figures* of *Mathematick* operation are nonsense, and dashes at a venture, to one uninstructed in *Mechanicks*. We are in the dark to one anothers purposes and intendments; and there are a thousand intrigues in our little matters, which will not presently confess their design even to *sagacious inquisitors*. And therefore 'tis folly and incogitancy to argue any thing one way or other

other from the *designs* of a sort of Beings, with whom we so little communicate; and possibly we can take no more aim, or guess at their *projects* and *designments*, than the *gazing Beasts* can do at ours, when they see the *Traps* and *Gins* that are laid for them, but understand nothing what they mean. Thus in general.

But I attempt something more particularly, in order to which I must premise, that the *Devil* is a name for a *Body Politick*, in which there are very different *Orders* and *Degrees of Spirits*, and perhaps in as much *variety of place and state*, as among our selves; so that 'tis not one and the same person that makes all the compacts with those abused and seduced Souls, but they are divers, and those 'tis like of the meanest and basest quality in the *Kingdom of darkness*: which being supposed, I offer this account of the *probable design* of those *wicked Agents*, viz. That having none to rule or tyrannize over within the *circle* of their own nature and government, they affect a *proud Empire* over us (the desire of *Domination* and *Authority* being largely spread through the whole *circumference of degenerated nature*, especially among those, whose *pride* was their *original transgression*) every one of these then desires to get him Vassals to pay him homage, and to be employ'd like Slaves in the services of his Lusts and Appetites; to gratifie which desire, 'tis like enough to be provided and allowed by the constitution of their *State and Government*, that every *wicked Spirit* shall have those Souls as his *property*, and *particular servants and attendants*, whom he can catch in such compacts; as those *wild Beasts* that we can take in *hunting*, are by the allowance of the Law our own; and those Slaves that a man hath *purchas'd*, are his peculiar Goods, and the Vassals of his Will. Or rather those deluding Fiends are like the seducing fellows we call *Spirits*, who inveigle Children by their false and flattering Promises, and carry them away to the Plantations of *America*, to be servilely employed there in the works of their profit and advantage. And as those base Agents will



will humour and flatter the simple unwary Youth, till they are on Shipboard, and without the reach of those that might rescue them from their hands: In like manner the more *mischievous Tempter* studies to gratifie, please, and accommodate those he deals with in this kind, till death hath lanch'd them into the *Deep*, and they are past the danger of *Prayers, Repentance, and Endeavours*; and then *He useth* them as pleaseth *Him*. This account I think is not unreasonable, and 'twill fully answer the Objection. For though the matter be not as I have conjectur'd, yet 'twill suggest how it may be *conceiv'd*; which nulls the pretence, That the *Design* is *unconceivable*.

## S E C T. XI.

## X.

**B**UT then (X.) we are still liable to be questioned, how it comes about, that those proud and insolent Designers practise in this kind upon so few, when one would expect, that they should be still trading this way, and every where be driving on the project, which the vileness of men makes so feasible, and would so much serve the interest of their lusts.

**T**O which, among other things that might be suggested, I return,

(1) That we are never liable to be so betray'd and abused, till by our *vile dispositions* and *tendencies* we have forfeited the *tutelary care*, and *oversight* of the better Spirits; who, though generally they are our guard and defence against the malice and violence of *evil Angels*, yet it may well enough be thought, that sometimes they may take their leave of such as are swallowed up by *Malice, Envy, and desire of Revenge*, qualities most contrary to their *Life and Nature*; and leave them exposed

posed to the *invasion* and *solicitations* of those wicked *Spirits*, to whom such hateful *Attributes* make them very *suitable*. And if there be particular *Guardian Angels*, as 'tis not absurd to fancy, it may then be well supposed, that no man is obnoxious to those projects and attempts, but only such whose *vile* and *mischievous* natures have driven from them their *protecting Genius*. And against this dereliction to the power of *evil Spirits*, 'tis likely enough what some affirm, that the *Royal Psalmist* directs that Prayer, *Psal. LXXI. ix, x. Cast me not off in the time of old age; forsake me not when my strength faileth*. For — They that keep my Soul [*φυλάσσοντες τὸ ψυχῶν μου*, as the LXX. and the *Vulgar Latin*, *Qui custodiunt animam meam*] they take counsel together saying, *God hath forsaken him, persecute him and take him; for there is none to deliver him*. But I add (2) That 'tis very probable, that the state wherein they are, will not easily permit *palpable intercourses* between the bad *Genii* and *Mankind*, since 'tis like enough that their own *Laws* and *Government* do not allow their frequent excursions into this World. Or, it may with as great probability be supposed, that 'tis a very hard and painful thing for them, to force their *thin* and *tenuous* Bodies into a *visible consistence*, and such shapes as are necessary for their *designs* in their *correspondencies* with *Witches*. For in this action their Bodies must needs be exceedingly *compress'd*, which cannot well be without a painful sense. And this is perhaps a reason why there are so few *Apparitions*, and why *appearing Spirits* are commonly in such haste to be gone, *viz.* that they may be deliver'd from the *unnatural pressure* of their *tender vehicles*; which I confess holds more, in the *apparitions* of *good* than *evil Spirits*; most Relations of this kind, describing their discoveries of themselves, as very *transient*, (though for those the holy Scripture records, there may be peculiar reason, why they are not so) whereas the *wicked ones* are not altogether so *quick*, and *hasty* in their *visits*: The reason of which probably is, the great *subtlety* and *tenuity* of

of the Bodies of the former, which will require far greater degrees of *compression*, and consequently of *pain*, to make them *visible*; whereas the latter are more *faculent and gross*, and so nearer allied to *palpable consistencies*, and more easily reduceable to *appearance and visibility*.

At this turn, Sir, you may perceive that I have again made use of the *Platonick Hypothesis*, That *Spirits are embodied*, upon which indeed a great part of my Discourse is grounded: And therefore I hold my self obliged to a short account of that supposal. It seems then to me very probable, from the nature of *Sense*, and *Analogy of Nature*. For (1) we perceive in our selves, that all *Sense* is caused and excited by *motion made in matter*; and when those *motions* which convey *sensible impressions* to the *Brain*, the *Seat of Sense*, are intercepted, *Sense* is lost: So that, if we suppose *Spirits* perfectly to be *disjoin'd* from all *matter*, 'tis not conceivable how they can have the sense of any thing; For how *material Objects* should any way be perceived, or felt, without *vital union* with *matter*, 'tis not possible to imagine. Nor doth it (2) seem suitable to the *Analogy of Nature*, which useth not to make *precipitous leaps* from one thing to another, but usually proceeds by *orderly steps* and *gradations*: whereas were there no *order of Beings* between *Us*, who are so deeply plunged into the grossest matter, and *pure unbodied Spirits*, 'twere a mighty jump in Nature. Since then the greatest part of the World consists of the *finer* portions of matter, and our own Souls are *immediately united* unto these, 'tis infinitely probable to conjecture, that the nearer Orders of Spirits are *vitally joined* to such *Bodies*; and so Nature by *degrees ascending* still by the more *refin'd* and *subtile matter*, gets at last to the pure *Nbes*, or *immaterial minds*, which the *Platonists* made the *highest Order of created Beings*. But of this I have discoursed elsewhere, and have said thus much of it at present, because it will enable me to add another Reason of the *unfrequency of Apparitions and Com-pacts*, viz.

(3) Be-



(3) Because 'tis very likely, that *these Regions* are very *unsuitable*, and *disproportion'd* to the *frame* and *temper* of their *Senses* and *Bodies*; so that perhaps, the *courser Spirits* can no more bear the *Air* of our *World*, than *Bats* and *Owls* can the *brightest Beams* of *Day*. Nor can the *pure* and *better* any more endure the *noisom steams*, and *poysonous reeks* of this *Dunghil Earth*, than the *delicate* can bear a *confinement* in *nasty Dungeons*, and the *foul squalid Caverns* of *uncomfortable Darknes*. So that 'tis no more wonder, that the *better Spirits* no oftner appear, than that men are not more frequently in the *dark Hollows* under ground. Nor is't any more strange that *evil Spirits* so rarely visit us, than that *Fishes* do not ordinarily fly in the *Air*, as 'tis said one sort of them doth; or that we see not the *Batt* daily fluttering in the *Beams* of the *Sun*. And now by the help of what I have spoken under this Head, I am provided with some things wherewith to disable another Objection, which I thus propose.

## S E C T. XII.

## XI.

(XI.) **I**F there be such an intercourse between *Evil Spirits* and the *Wicked*, How comes it about that there is no correspondence between *Good Angels* and the *Vertuous*? since without doubt these are as desirous to propagate the *Spirit* and *Designs* of the *upper* and *better World*, as those are to promote the *Interest* of the *Kingdom* of *Darknes*.

**W**HICH way of arguing is still from our *Ignorance* of the *State* and *Government* of the other *World*, which must be confest, and may, without prejudice to the *Proposition* I defend. But particularly, I say, (1) That we have ground enough to believe, that  
good

*good Spirits* do interpose in, yea, and *govern* our Affairs. For that there is a *Providence* reaching from Heaven to Earth, is generally acknowledged; but that *this* supposeth all things to be ordered by the *immediate influence*, and *interposul* of the *Supream Deity*, some think, is not very *Philosophical* to suppose; since, if we judge by the *Analogy* of the *natural World*, all things we see are carried on by the *Ministry* of *second Causes*, and *intermediate Agents*. And it doth not seem so *magnificent* and *becoming* an apprehension of the *Supream Numen*, to fancy his *immediate hand* in every *trivial Management*. But 'tis exceeding likely to conjecture, that much of the Government of us, and our Affairs, is committed to the *better Spirits*, with a due *subordination* and *subserviency* to the Will of the chief *Rektor* of the *Universe*. And 'tis not absurd to believe, that there is a *Government* runs from *highest* to *lowest*, the *better* and *more perfect* Orders of Being still ruling the *inferiour* and *less perfect*. So that some one would fancy that perhaps the *Angels* may manage us, as we do the *Creatures* that God and Nature have placed under our *Empire* and *Dominion*. But however that is, That *God* rules the lower World by the *Ministry* of *Angels*, is very consonant to the *sacred Oracles*. Thus, *Deut. XXXII. 8, 9.* *When the most High divided the Nations their Inheritance, when he separated the sons of Adam, he set the bounds of the people, καὶ ἀεὶ θύον ἀγγέλων Θεῷ, according to the number of the Angels of God,* as the *Septuagint* renders it; the Authority of which Translation, is abundantly credited and asserted, by its being quoted in the *New Testament*, without notice of the *Hebrew Text*; even there where it differs from it, as *Learned men* have observed. We know also, that *Angels* were very familiar with the *Patriarchs* of old; and *Jacob's Ladder* is a *Mystery*, which imports their *ministring* in the affairs of the Lower World. Thus *Origen* and others understand that to be spoken by the *Presidential Angels*, *Jerem. LI. ix.* *We would have healed BABYLON, but she is not healed: forsake her, and*  
let

let us go. Like the Voice heard in the Temple before the taking of Jerusalem by Titus, Μελαβαίνωμεν ἰν' ἐσθθ' εἰ. And before Nebuchadnezzar was sent to learn Wisdom and Religion among the Beasts, He sees a Watcher, according to the 70. an Angel, and an holy One come down from Heaven, Dan. IV. 13. who pronounceth the sad Decree against Him, and calls it the Decree of the Watchers, who very probably were the Guardian Genii of Himself and his Kingdom. And that there are particular Angels that have the special Rule and Government of particular Kingdoms, Provinces, Cities, yea and of Persons, I know nothing that can make improbable: The instance is notorious in Daniel, of the Angels of Persia and Gracia, that hindred the other that was engaged for the concerns of Judea: yea, our Saviour himself tells us, that Children have their Angels; and the Congregation of Disciples supposed that St. Peter had his. Which things if they be granted, the good Spirits have not so little to do with us, and our matters, as is generally believed. And perhaps it would not be absurd, if we referr'd many of the strange thwarts, and unexpected events, the disappointments and lucky co-incidences that befall us, the unaccountable fortunes and successes that attend some lucky men, and the unhappy fates that dog others that seem born to be miserable; the Fame and Favour that still waits on some without any conceivable motive to allure it, and the general neglect of others more deserving, whose worth is not acknowledg'd; I say, these, and such like odd things, may with the greatest probability be resolved into the Conduct and Menages of those invisible Supervisors, that preside over, and govern our affairs.

But if they so far concern themselves in our matters, how is it that they appear not to maintain a visible and constant correspondence with some of the better Mortals, who are most fitted for their Communications and their influence? To which I have said some things already, when I accounted for the unfrequency of Apparitions; and I now add what I intend for another return to the main Objection, viz.

(2) That



(2) That the apparition of good Spirits is not needful for the Designs of the better world, whatever such may be for the interest of the other. For we have had the Appearance and Cohabitation of the Son of God; we have Moses and the Prophets, and the continued influence of the Spirit, the greatest arguments to strengthen Faith, the most powerful motives to excite our Love, and the noblest encouragements to quicken and raise our Desires and Hopes, any of which are more than the apparition of an Angel; which would indeed be a great gratification of the Animal Life, but 'twould render our Faith less noble and less generous, were it frequently so assisted: Blessed are they that believe, and yet have not seen. Besides which, the good Angels have no such ends to prosecute, as the gaining any Vassals to serve them, they being ministring Spirits for our good, and no self designers for a proud and insolent Dominion over us. And it may be perhaps not impertinently added, That they are not always evil Spirits that appear, as is, I know not well upon what grounds, generally imagined; but that the extraordinary detections of Murders, latent Treasures, falsified and unfulfilled Bequests, which are sometimes made by Apparitions, may be the courteous Discoveries of the better and more benign Genii. Yea, 'tis not unlikely, that those warnings that the world sometimes hath of approaching Judgments and Calamities by Prodigies, and sundry odd Phenomena, are the kind Informations of some of the Inhabitants of the upper world. Thus, was Jerusalem forewarned before its sacking by Antiochus, by those airy Horsemen that were seen through all the City, for almost forty days together, 2 Mac. V. ii, iii. and the other Prodigious Portents that fore-ran its Destruction by Titus, which I mention, because they are notorious instances. And though, for mine own part, I scorn the ordinary Tales of Prodigies, which proceed from superstitious fears, and unacquaintance with Nature, and have been used to bad purposes by the zealous and the ignorant; Yet I think that the Arguments that are brought by

by a late very ingenious Author, to conclude against such Warnings and Predictions in the whole kind, are *short and insequent*, and built upon too narrow *Hypotheses*. For if it be supposed, that there is a sort of Spirits over us, and about us, who can give a probable guess at the more *remarkable futurities*, I know not why it may not be conjectured, that the kindness they have for us, and the appetite of foretelling strange things, and the putting the world upon expectation, which we find is very grateful to our own natures, may not incline them also to give us some general notice of those uncommon Events which they foresee. And I yet perceive no reason we have to fancy, that whatever is done in this kind, must needs be either *immediately from Heaven*, or from the *Angels*, by *extraordinary Commission and Appointment*. But it seems to me not unreasonable to believe, that *those officious Spirits*, that oversee our Affairs, perceiving some *mighty and sad alterations* at hand, in which their *Charge* is much concerned, cannot chuse, by reason of their *affection* to us, but give us some *seasonable hints* of those *approaching Calamities*; to which also their natural desire to *foretel strange things* to come, may contribute to incline them. And by this *Hypothesis*, the *fairest probabilities* and *strongest ratiocinations* against *Prodigies*, may be made unserviceable. But this only by the way.

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### SECT. XIII.

I Desire it may be considered further,  
 (3) That *God* himself affords his *intimacies* and *converses* to the *better Souls*, that are prepared for it; which is a *priviledge* infinitely beyond *Angelical correspondence*.

I confess the *proud and phantastick pretences* of many of the *conceited Melancholists* in this age, to *Divine Communion*, have prejudiced divers intelligent persons against

gainst the *belief* of any such *happy vouchsafement*; so that they conclude the *Doctrine of immediate Communion* with the *Deity* in this *Life* to be but an *high flown notion* of *warm imagination*, and *overluscious self-flattery*; and I acknowledge I have my self had thoughts of this nature, supposing *Communion* with *God* to be nothing else but the *exercise of vertue*, and that *Peace*, and those *Comforts* which naturally result from it.

But I have considered since, that *God's* more *near* and *immediate* imparting himself to the *Soul* that is prepared for that happiness by *divine Love*, *Humility*, and *Resignation*, in the way of a *vital touch*, and *sense*, is a thing possible in it self, and will be a great part of our *Heaven*. That *Glory* is begun in *Grace*, and *God* is pleased to give some *excellent Souls* the *happy Antepast*. That *holy men* in *ancient times* have *sought* and *gloried* in this enjoyment, and never *complain* so *soresly* as when it was *with-held*, and *interrupted*. That the *expressions of Scripture* run infinitely this way, and the *best of Modern good men*, do from their own experience *attest* it. That this *spiritualizeth Religion*, and renders its *enjoyments* more *comfortable* and *delicious*. That it keeps the *Soul* under a *vivid sense* of *God*, and is a *grand security* against *Temptation*. That it holds it steady amid the *flatteries* of a *prosperous state*, and gives it the most *grounded anchorage* and *support* amid the *Waves* of an *adverse condition*. That 'tis the noblest *encouragement* to *vertue*, and the *biggest assurance* of an *happy Immortality*. I say, I considered these *weighty things*, and wondred at the *carelesness* and *prejudice* of thoughts that occasion'd my suspecting the *reality* of so glorious a *Priviledge*; I saw how little reason there is in denying matters of *inward sense*, because our selves do not *feel* them, or cannot form an apprehension of them in our minds. I am convinced that things of *gust* and *relish* must be judg'd by the *sentient* and *vital faculties*, and not by the *noetical exercises* of *speculative understandings*: And upon the whole, I believe infinitely that the *Divine Spirit* affords its *sensible presence*, and *immediate beatifick Touch*



*Touch to some rare Souls, who are divested of carnal self, and mundane pleasures, abstracted from the Body by Prayer and holy Meditation; spiritual in their Desires, and calm in their Affections; devout Lovers of God, and vertue, and tenderly affectionate to all the world; sincere in their aims, and circumspect in their actions; enlarged in their Souls, and clear in their Minds: These I think are the dispositions that are requisite to fit us for Divine Communion; and God transacts not in this near way, but with prepared spirits, who are thus disposed for the manifestation of his presence, and his influence: And such, I believe, he never fails to bless with these happy foretastes of Glory.*

But for those that are *passionate and conceited, turbulent and notional, confident and immodest, imperious and malicious; That doat upon trifles, and run fiercely in the ways of a Sect, that are lifted up in the apprehension of the glorious prerogatives of themselves and their party, and scorn all the world besides; For such, I say, be their pretensions what they will, to divine Communion, Illapses, and Discoveries, I believe them not; Their fancies abuse them, or they would us. For what communion hath Light with Darkness, or the Spirit of the HOLY ONE with those whose genius and ways are so unlike him? But the other excellent Souls I described, will as certainly be visited by the Divine Presence, and converse, as the Chrystalline streams are, with the beams of Light, or the fitly prepar'd Earth whose Seed is in it self, will be actuated by the spirit of Nature.*

So that there is no reason to object here the want of *Angelical Communications*, though there were none vouchsafed us, since good men enjoy the *Divine*, which are infinitely more *satisfactory* and *indearing*.

And now I may have leave to proceed to the next *Objection*, which may be made to speak thus:

## S E C T. XIV.

## XII.

(XII.) **T**HE belief of Witches, and the wonderful things they are said to perform by the help of the Confederate Dæmon, weakens our Faith, and exposeth the World to Infidelity in the great matters of our Religion. For if they by Diabolical assistance, can inflict and cure Diseases, and do things so much beyond the comprehension of our Philosophy, and activity of common Nature; What assurance can we have, that the Miracles that confirm our Gospel were not the effects of a Compact of like nature, and that Devils were not cast out by Beelzebub? If evil Spirits can assume Bodies, and render themselves visible in humane likeness; What security can we have of the reality of the Resurrection of Christ? And if, by their help, Witches can enter Chambers invisibly through Key-holes and little unperceived Crannies, and transform themselves at pleasure; What Arguments of Divinity are there in our Saviour's shewing himself in the midst of his Disciples, when the Doors were shut, and his Transfiguration in the Mount? Miracles are the great inducements of Belief, and how shall we distinguish a Miracle from a lying Wonder; a Testimony from Heaven, from a Trick of the Angels of Hell; if they can perform things that astonish and confound our Reasons, and are beyond all the Possibilities of Human Nature? This Objection is spiteful and mischievous; but I thus endeavour to dispatch it.

(1) **T**HE Wonders done by Confederacy with wicked Spirits, cannot derive a suspicion upon the undoubted Miracles that were wrought by the Author and Promulgers of our Religion, as if they were performed by Diabolical Compact, since their Spirit, Endeavours, and Designs, were notoriously contrary to all the Tendencies, Aims, and Interests of the Kingdom of Darkness. For, as  
to

to the Life and Temper of the blessed and adorable JESUS, we know there was an incomparable *sweetness* in his *Nature*, *Humility* in his *Manners*, *Calmness* in his *Temper*, *Compassion* in his *Miracles*, *Modesty* in his *Expressions*, *Holiness* in all his *Actions*, *Hatred of Vice* and *Baseness*, and *Love* to all the *World*; all which are essentially contrary to the *Nature* and *Constitution* of *Apostate Spirits*, who abound in *Pride* and *Rancour*, *Insolence* and *Rudeness*, *Tyranny* and *Baseness*, universal *Malice*, and *Hatred of Men*. And their *Designs* are as opposite, as their *Spirit* and their *Genius*. And now, Can the *Sun* borrow its *Light* from the *bottomless Abyss*? Can *Heat* and *Warmth* flow in upon the *World* from the *Regions of Snow and Ice*? Can *Fire* freeze, and *Water* burn? Can *Natures*, so infinitely contrary, *communicate*, and jump in *projects* that are *destructive* to each others *known Interests*? Is there any *Balsom* in the *Cockatrice's Egg*? or, Can the *Spirit of Life* flow from the *Venome* of the *Asp*? Will the *Prince of Darkness* strengthen the *Arm* that is *stretcht* out to pluck his *Usurpt Scepter*, and his *Spoils* from him? And will he lend his *Legions*, to assist the *Armies* of his *Enemy* against him? No, these are impossible *Supposals*; No intelligent *Being* will industriously and knowingly contribute to the *Contradiction* of its own *Principles*, the *Defeat* of its *Purposes*, and the *Ruine* of its own dearest *Interests*. There is no fear then, that our *Faith* should receive prejudice from the *acknowledgment* of the *Being* of *Witches*, and *power of evil Spirits*, since 'tis not the *doing wonderful things* that is the only *Evidence* that the *Holy JESUS* was from *God*, and his *Doctrine true*; but the *conjunction* of other circumstances, the *holiness* of his *Life*, the *reasonableness* of his *Religion*, and the *excellency* of his *Designs*, added credit to his *Works*, and strengthened the *great Conclusion*, That he could be no other than the *Son of God*, and *Saviour of the world*. But besides, I say,

- (2) That since *infinite Wisdom* and *Goodness* rules the



World, it cannot be conceived, that they should give up the greatest part of men to *unavoidable deception*. And if *evil Angels* by their *Confederates* are permitted to perform such *astonishing* things, as seem so evidently to carry *God's Seal* and *Power* with them, for the confirmation of *Falshoods*, and gaining credit to *Impostors*, without any *counter-evidence* to disabuse the World; Mankind is exposed to *sad* and *fatal delusion*. And to say that *Providence* will suffer us to be deceived in things of the greatest concernment, when we use the best of our care and endeavours to prevent it, is to speak hard things of *God*; and in effect to affirm, That He hath nothing to do in the Government of the World, or doth not concern himself in the affairs of poor forlorn men. And if the *Providence* and *Goodness* of *God* be not a security unto us against such *Deceptions*, we cannot be assured, but that we are always abused by those *mischievous Agents*, in the *Objects* of *plain sense*, and in all the matters of our daily Converſes. If *ONE* that pretends he is *immediately sent from God*, to overthrow the ancient *Fabrick* of *Established Worship*, and to erect a *New Religion* in *His Name*, shall be *born* of a *Virgin*, and honour'd by a *miraculous Star*; proclaimed by a *Song* of seeming *Angels of Light*, and worshipped by the *wise Sages* of the World; Revered by those of the greatest *austerity*, and admired by all for a *miraculous Wisdom*, beyond his *Education* and his *Years*: If he shall feed multitudes with almost *nothing*, and *fast himself* beyond all the *possibilities* of *Nature*: If he shall be *transformed* into the appearance of *extraordinary Glory*, and converse with departed *Prophets* in their *visible Forms*: If He shall Cure all *Diseases* without *Physick* or *Endeavour*, and raise the *Dead* to *Life* after they have *stunk* in their *Graves*: If he shall be honoured by *Voices* from *Heaven*, and attract the universal wonder of *Princes* and *People*: If He shall allay *Tempests* with a *beck*, and cast out *Devils* with a *word*: If He shall foretel his own *Death* particularly, with its *Tragical Circumstances*, and his *Resurrection* after  
it:

it: If the *Veil* of the most famous *Temple* in the World shall be *rent*, and the *Sun* darkned at his *Funeral*: If He shall, within the time foretold, break the bonds of Death, and lift up his Head out of the Grave: If *Multitudes* of other departed Souls shall arise with Him, to attend at the Solemnity of his *Resurrection*: If He shall after Death, *visibly converse*, and eat and drink with divers persons, who could not be deceived in a matter of *clear sense*, and *ascend* in Glory in the presence of an astonisht and admiring Multitude: I say, if such a one as this should prove a *diabolical Impostor*, and Providence should permit him to be so credited and acknowledged; What possibility were there then for us to be assured, that we are not always *deceived*? yea, that our very faculties were not given us only to delude and abuse us? And if so, the next Conclusion is, *That there is no God that judgeth in the Earth*; and the best, and most likely *Hypothesis* will be, *That the world is given up to the government of the Devil*. But if there be a *Providence* that superviseth us, (as nothing is more certain) doubtless it will never suffer poor helpless Creatures to be *inevitably deceived* by the craft and subtilty of their *mischievous Enemy*, to their undoing; but will without question take such care, that the works wrought by *Divine Power* for the Confirmation of *Divine Truth*, shall have such *visible Marks* and *Signatures*, if not in their *Nature*, yet in their *Circumstances*, *Ends*, and *Designs*, as shall discover whence they are, and sufficiently distinguish them from all *Impostures* and *Delusions*. And though wicked Spirits may perform some strange things that may excite wonder for a while, yet *He hath*, and will so provide that they shall be *baffled* and *discredited*; as we know it was in the case of *Moses* and the *Aegyptian Magicians*.

These things I count sufficient to be said to this last, and shrewdest *Objection*; Though some, I understand, except, that I have made it stronger than the *Answer* I have applied. That I have urged the *argument* of *unbelievers* home, and represented it in its full strength, I suppose

can be no matter of just reproof: For to triumph over the *weakness* of a *Cause*, and to overlook its *strength*, is the trick of *shallow* and *interested Disputers*, and the worst way to *defend* a *good Cause*, or confute a *bad* one. I have therefore all along urged the most *cogent* things I could think of, for the interest of the *Objectors*, because I would not *impose* upon my *Reader* or *my self*; and the *stronger* I make their *premisses*, the *more* shall I *weaken* their *Conclusion*, if I *answer* them; which whether I have *done*, or *not*, I refer my self to the judgments of the *ingenious* and *considerate*; from whom I should be very glad to be informed in what particular points my Discourse is defective. *General Charges* are no *proofs*, nor are they easily *capable* of an answer. Yet to the *mention'd exception* I say,

That the *strength* of the *Objection* is not my *fault*, for the *reasons* alledg'd; and for the *supposed incompetency* of my *return*, I propose, that if the *circumstances* of the *Persons*, *Ends*, and *Issues* be the *best Notes* of *Distinction* between *true Miracles* and *Forgeries*, *Divine* and *Diabolical* ones, I have then said *enough* to secure the *Miracles* of our *Saviour*, and the *Holy men* of *Ancient times*. But if *these Objectors* think, they can give us any *better*, or more *infallible Criteria*, I desire them to weigh what I have offer'd about *Miracles* in some of the following *Leaves*, before they enter *that thought* among their *certainties*. And if their other *marks of difference* will hold, notwithstanding those *allegations*, I suppose the *inquisitive believing* world would be glad to *know* them; and I shall have *particular obligations* to the *discoverer*, for the *strength* with which he will thereby assist my *Answer*.

But till I see *that*, I can say nothing *stronger*; or if I saw it, which I shall not in haste expect, I should not be convinced but that the *circumstances* of *difference* which I have noted, are abundantly *sufficient* to *disarm* the *Objection*; and to shew, that though *Apparitions*, *Witchcraft*, and *diabolical Wonders* are admitted: yet none of these can fasten any *flurre*, or ground of *dangerous doubt* upon the



the *miraculous* performances of the *H. JESUS* and his *Apostles*. If the *dissatisfied* can shew it. I shall yield myself an humble *Profelyte* to their *Reasons*: but till I know them, the *general* suggestion will not convince me.

Now, besides what I have directly said to the main *Objection*, I have this to add to the *Objectors*, That I could wish they would take care of such *Suggestions*; which, if they overthrow not the *Opinion* they oppose, will dangerously affront the *Religion* they would seem to acknowledge. For he that saith, *That if there are WITCHES, there is no way to prove that Christ Jesus was not a Magician, and diabolical Impostor*, puts a deadly *Weapon* into the *hands* of the *Infidel*, and is himself next door to the *SIN AGAINST THE HOLY GHOST*: of which, in order to the *perswading* greater *tenderness* and *caution* in such matters, I give this short account.

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## SECT. XV.

THE *Sin* against the *Holy Ghost* is said to be *Unpardonable*: by which *sad* Attribute, and the discourse of our *Saviour*, *Matth. XII.* from the 22, to the 33 *verse*, we may understand its *Nature*. In order to which we consider, That since the *Mercies* of *God*, and the *Merits* of his *Son*, are *infinite*, there is nothing can make a *Sin unpardonable*, but what makes it *incurable*; and there is no *Sin* but what is curable by a *strong Faith*, and a *vigorous Endeavour*: For all things are possible to him that believeth. So that, That which makes a *Sin incurable*, must be somewhat that makes *Faith impossible*, and obstructs all means of *Conviction*. In order to the finding which, we must consider the ways and methods the *Divine Goodness* hath taken, for the begetting *Faith*, and cure of *Infidelity*: which it attempted, first, by the *Prophets*, and holy men of ancient times, who, by the *excellency* of their *Doctrine*, the *greatness* of their *Miracles*,

cles, and the holiness of their *Lives*, endeavoured the conviction and reformation of a stubborn and unbelieving World. But though *Few believed their Report*, and men would not be prevail'd on by what they did, or what they said; yet their *Infidelity* was not hitherto incurable, because further means were provided in the ministry of *John the Baptist*, whose Life was more severe, whose Doctrines were more plain, pressing, and particular; and therefore 'twas possible that He might have succeeded. Yea, and where He failed, and could not open mens hearts and their eyes, the effect was still in possibility, and it might be expected from *Him* that came after, to whom the *Prophets* and *John* were but the *Twilight* and the *Dawn*. And though *His miraculous Birth*, the *Song of Angels*, the *Journey of the Wise Men of the East*, and the correspondence of *Prophecies*, with the *Circumstances* of the first appearance of the wonderful *Infant*: I say, though these had not been taken notice of, yet was there a further provision made for the cure of *Infidelity*, in his astonishing *Wisdom*, and most excellent *Doctrines*; For, *He spake as never man did*. And when *These* were despised and neglected, yet there were other means towards *Conviction*, and cure of *Unbelief*, in those mighty works that bore Testimony of *Him*, and wore the evident marks of *Divine Power* in their Foreheads. But when after all, *These clear and unquestionable Miracles* which were wrought by the *Spirit of God*, and had eminently his *Superscription* on them, shall be ascribed to the *Agency of evil Spirits*, and *Diabolical Compact*, as they were by the malicious and spiteful *Pharisees* in the periods above-mentioned; when those great and last Testimonies against *Infidelity*, shall be said to be but the tricks of *Sorcery*, and *Complotment* with *Hellish Confederates*, This is *Blasphemy* in the highest, against the *Power and Spirit of God*, and such as cuts off all means of *Conviction*, and puts the *Unbeliever* beyond all possibilities of *Cure*. For *Miracles* are *God's Seal*, and the great and last evidence of the truth of any *Doctrine*. And though,

while

while these are only disbelieved as to the *Fact*, there remains a *possibility of persuasion*; yet, when the *Fact* shall be acknowledg'd, but the Power *blasphemed*, and the effects of the adorable *Spirit maliciously* imputed to the *Devils*; such a *Blasphemy*, such an *Infidelity* is *incurable*, and consequently *unpardonable*. I say, in sum, the Sin against the Holy Ghost seems to be a *malicious imputation* of the *Miracles* wrought by the *Spirit of God* in our Saviour, to *Satanical Confederacy*, and the power of *Apostate Spirits*; Than which nothing is more *blasphemous*, and nothing is more like to provoke the *Holy Spirit* that is so abused, to an *Eternal Dereliction* of so vile and so *incurable* an Unbeliever.

This account, as 'tis clear and reasonable in it self, so it is plainly lodg'd in the mention'd Discourse of our Saviour. And most of those that speak other things about it, seem to me to talk at random, and perfectly without Book. But to leave them to the fondness of their own conceits, I think it now time to draw up to a Conclusion of the whole.

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## SECT. XVI.

Therefore briefly, Sir, I have endeavoured in these Papers, which my respect and your concernment in the subject have made *yours*, to remove the main prejudices I could think of, against the existence of *Witches* and *Apparitions*: And I'm sure I have suggested much more against what I defend, than ever I heard or saw in any that opposed it; whose Discourses for the most part, have seemed to me inspired by a *lofty scorn of common belief*, and some *trivial Notions of Vulgar Philosophy*. And in despising the *common Faith* about matters of *fact*, and fondly adhering to it in things of *Speculation*, they very grossly and absurdly mistake: For in things of *Fact*, the *People* are as much to be believed, as the most *subtile Philosophers* and *Speculators*; since here, *Sense* is the Judge.

But



But in matters of *Notions* and *Theory*, they are not at all to be heeded, because *Reason* is to be Judge of *these*, and *this* they know not how to use. And yet thus it is with those *wise* Philosophers, that will deny the *plain* evidence of the *Senses* of Mankind, because they cannot reconcile *appearances* with the fond Crotchets of a Philosophy, which they lighted on in the *High-way* by *chance*, and will adhere to at *adventure*. So that I profess, for mine own part, I never yet heard any of the confident Declaimers against *Witchcraft* and *Apparitions*, speak any thing that might move a mind, in any degree instructed in the generous kinds of *Philosophy* and *Nature* of *things*. And for the *Objections* I have recited, they are most of them such as rose out of mine own thoughts, which I obliged to consider what was possible to be said upon this *occasion*.

For though I have examined SCOT's *DISCOVERY*, fancying that there I should find the *strong reasons* of mens *disbelief* in this matter; yet I profess I met not with the least suggestion in all that *Farrago*, but what it had been ridiculous for me to have gone about to *answer*: For the Author doth *little* but tell *odd Tales*, and *silly Legends*, which he confutes and laughs at, and pretends this to be a *Confutation* of the Being of *Witches* and *Apparitions*. In all which, His *Reasonings* are *trifling* and *Childish*; and when He ventures at *Philosophy*, He is little better than *absurd*: So that 'twill be a wonder to me, if any but *Boyes* and *Buffoons* imbibe any *prejudices* against a Belief so infinitely confirmed, from the *Loose* and *Impotent Suggestions* of so weak a Discourser.

But however, observing two things in that *Discourse* that would pretend to be more than ordinary *Reasons*, I shall do them the civility to examine them. It is said then,

(1) **T**HAT the Gospel is *silent*, as to the Being of *WITCHES*; and 'tis not likely, if there were *such*, but that our *Saviour* or his *Apostles* had given intimations of their existence. The other is, (2)

(2) **M**iracles are ceased, and therefore the prodigious things ascribed to **Witchcraft** are supposed *Dreams and Impostures.*

FOR ANSWER to the FIRST in order, I consider (1) That though the *History* of the *New Testament* were granted to be silent in the business of *Witches* and *Compacts*, yet the *Records* of the *Old* have a frequent mention of them. The Law, *Exod. XXII. 18* against permitting *them to live* (which I mention'd in the beginning) is famous. And we have another remarkable *Prohibition* of them, *Deut. XVIII. 10, 11. There shall not be found among you any one that maketh his son or his daughter pass through the Fire, or that useth Divination, or an Observer of Times, or an Enchanter, or a WITCH, or a Charmer, or a Consulter with Familiar Spirits, or a Wizzard, or a Necromancer.* Now this accumulation of Names, (some of which are of the same Sense and Import) is a plain Indication that the *HEBREW WITCH* was one that practised by compact with evil Spirits. And many of the same expressions are put together in the Charge against *Manasses*, *2 Chron. XXXIII. viz. That he caused his Children to pass through the Fire, observed Times, used Enchantments, and Witchcraft, and dealt with Familiar Spirits, and with WIZZARDS.* So that though the *Original* word which we render *WITCH* and *WITCHCRAFT*, should, as our Sadducees urge, signifie only a *CHEAT* and a *POYSONER*; yet those others mention'd plainly enough speak the thing; and I have given an account in the former *Considerations*, how a *WITCH* in the common notion is a *Poysoner*. But why meer *Poysoning* should have a distinct *Law* against it, and not be concluded under the General one against *Murder*; why meer *Legerdemain* and *Cheating* should be so severely animadverted on, as to be reckon'd with *Enchantments*, converse with *Devils*, and *Idolatrous Practices*: I believe the *Denier* of *WITCHES* will find it hard to give a Reason. To which I may add some hard passages of Scripture that yield

yield sufficient evidence in the case. The Nations are forbid to hearken to the *Diviners*, *Dreamers*, *Enchanters*, and *Sorcerers*, Jer. XXVII. 9. the *Chaldeans* are deeply threatned for their *Sorceries* and *Enchantments*, Isa. XLVII. 9. And we read that *Nebuchadnezzar* called the *Magicians*, *Astrologers*, *Sorcerers*, and *Chaldeans*, to tell his *Dream*. My mention of which last, minds me to say, that for ought I have to the contrary, there may be a sort of *Witches* and *Magicians* that have no *Familiar*s, that they *know*, nor any *express compact* with *Apostate Spirits*; who yet may perhaps act *strange* things by *diabolick Aids*, which they procure by the use of those *Forms*, and wicked *Arts* that the *Devil* did first impart to his *confederates*: And we know not but the *Laws* of that *dark kingdom* may enjoin a particular attendance upon all those that practise their *Mysteries*, whether they *know* them to be *theirs*, or not. For a great interest of their *Empire* may be served by this project, since those that find such success in the *unknown Conjurations*, may by that be toll'd on to more *express transactions* with those *Fiends*, that have assisted them *incognito*: Or, if they proceed not so far, yet they run upon a *Rock* by acting in the *dark*, and dealing in *unknown* and *unwarranted Arts*, in which the *effect* is much beyond the *proper efficiency* of the things they use, and affords ground of more than suspicion that some *evil Spirit* is the *Agent* in those wondrous performances.

Upon this account I say, it is not to me unlikely but that the *Devils* may by their own *Constitution* be bound to attend upon all that use their *Ceremonies* and *Forms*, though *ignorantly*, and without *design* of evil; and so *Conjuration* may have been performed by those who are none of the *Covenant-Sorcerers* and *Witches*. Among those perhaps we may justly reckon *Balaam*, and the *Diviners*. For *Balaam*, *Moncaus* hath undertaken to clear him from the guilt of the *greater Sorcery*. And the *Diviners* are usually *distinctly* mentioned from those that had *Familiar Spirits*. The *Astrologers* also of *Elder* times,



times, and those of *ours*, I take to have been of this sort of *Magicians*, and *some* of them under the colour of that *mystical Science*, *worse*. And I question not, but that things are really done, and foretold by those *pretended Artists*, that are much beyond the *regular possibilities* of their *Art*; which in this appears to be exceedingly *uncertain* and *precarious*, in that there are no less than *six* ways of erecting a *Scheme*, in each of which the *prediction* of *Events* shall be *different*, and yet every one of them be justifiable by the *Rules* of that *Science*. And the *Principles* they go upon. are found to be very *arbitrary* and *unphilosophical*, not by the *ordinary Declaimers* against it, but by the most *profound inquirers* into things, who perfectly *understand* the whole *Mystery*, and are the only *competent Judges*.

Now those *Mystical Students* may in their first addreses to this *Science*, have no other design, but the satisfaction of their *curiosity* to know *remote* and *hidden things*; yet that in the progress being not satisfied within the bounds of their *Art*, doth many times tempt the *curious Inquirer* to use *worse* means of *Information*; and no doubt those *mischievous Spirits* that are as vigilant as the *Beasts of Prey*, and watch all occasions to get us within their *envious reach*, are more constant *Attend*ers, and careful *Spies* upon the *Actions* and *Inclinations* of such, whose *genius* and *designs* prepare them for their *Temptations*. So that I look on *Judicial Astrology* as a fair Introduction to *Sorcery* and *Witchcraft*. And who knows but that it was first set on foot by the *Infernal Hunters*, as a *Lure* to draw the *Curioso's* into those snares that lie hid beyond it. And yet I believe also, it may be *innocently* enough studied by those, that aim only to understand *what it is*, and *how far it will honestly go*; and are not willing to condemn any thing which they do not comprehend. But that they must take care to keep themselves within the bounds of sober enquiry, and not indulge *irregular sollicitudes* about the *Knowledge* of things which *Providence* hath thought fit to conceal from

us;

us; Which whoever doth, lays himself open to the designs and solicitations of *evil Spirits*; and I believe there are very few among those who have been addicted to those *strange Arts of wonder*, and *prediction*, but have found themselves attacqued by some *unknown Solicitors*, and inticed by them to the more dangerous *Actions* and *Correspondencies*. For as there are a sort of *base and fordid Spirits* that attend the *envy* and *malice* of the *ignorant*, and *viler* sort of persons, and betray them into *Compacts* by *promises of Revenge*: So, no doubt, there are a kind of more *airy*, and *speculative Fiends*, of an *higher Rank* and *Order* than those *wretched Imps*, who apply themselves to the *Curious*; and many times prevail with them by offers of the more *recondite knowledge*. As we know it was in the *first Temptation*. Yea, and sometimes they are so *cautious*, and *wary* in their *Conversations* with more *refined* persons, that they never offer to make any *express Covenants* with them. And to this purpose I have been informed by a very *Learned* and *Reverend Doctor*, that one *Mr. Edwards* a *Master of Arts* of *Trin. Coll.* in *Cambridge* being reclaimed from *Conjuration*, declared in his *Repentance*, That the *Demon* always appeared to him like a man of good *Fashion*, and never required any *Compact* from him. And no doubt, they sort themselves agreeably to the *state*, *port*, and *genius* of those with whom they *converse*: Yea, 'tis like, as I conjectured, are *assistant* sometimes to those, to whom they dare not shew themselves in any *openness* of *appearance*, lest they should *fright* them from those ways of *Sin* and *Temptation*. So that we see, that Men may act by *evil Spirits* without their own knowledge that they do so.

And possibly *Nebuchadnezzar's Wisemen* might be of this sort of *Magicians*; which Supposal I mention the rather, because it may serve me against some things that may be objected: For, it may be said, If *They* had been in *Confederacy* with *Devils*, it is not probable, that *Daniel* would have been their *Advocate*, or in such *inoffensive Terms* have distinguished their *Skill*, from *Divine Revelation*; nor should  
he,

he, one would think, have accepted the office of being *Provost over them*. These Circumstances may be supposed to intimate a probability that the *Magi of Babylon* were in no *profest Diabolical Complotment*, and I grant it. But yet they *might*, and in all likelyhood *did*, use the *Arts* and *Methods of Action*, which obtain *Demoniack Co-operation* and *Assistance*, though without their *Privity*, and so they were a less criminal sort of *Conjurers*; For those *Arts* were conveyed down along to *them* from one hand to another, and the Successours still took them up from those that preceded, without a *Philosophical Scrutiny*, or *Examen*. They saw strange things were *done*, and Events predicted by such *Forms*, and such *words*, *How*, they could not tell, nor 'tis like, did not *inquire*; but contented themselves with this *general* account, That 'twas by the *Power* of their *Arts*, and were not *sollicitous* for any *better* reason. This I say was probably the case of most of those *Predictors*, though, it may be, others of them advanced further into the more desperate part of the *Mystery*. And that *some* did immediately *transact* with *appearing* evil Spirits in those times, is apparent enough from exprefs mention in the *Scriptures* I have alledg'd.

And the story of the *WITCH* of *ENDOR*, 1 Sam. XXVIII. is a remarkable *Demonstration* of the main Conclusion; which will appear when we have considered and removed the *Fancy*, and *Glosses* of our *Author* about it, in his *DISCOVERY*: where to avoid this Evidence, he affirms, *This WITCH* to be but a *Cozenener*, and the whole *Transaction* a *Cheat* and *Imposture*, managed by her *Self* and a *Confederate*. And in order to the persuading *this*, he tells a fine *Tale*, viz. That *She* departed from *Saul* into her *Closet*, "Where doubtless, says he, she had  
 "a *Familiar*, some *lewd crafty Priest*, and made *Saul* stand  
 "at the *door* like a *Fool*, to hear the *cozening* Answers.  
 "He saith, she there used the ordinary words of *Conjuration*; & after them *Samuel* appears, whom he affirms to  
 "be no other than either the *Witch* her self, or her *Confederate*.



derate. By this pretty Knack and Contrivance he thinks he hath disabled the relation from signifying to our purpose.

But the *DISCOVERER* might have considered, that all this is an *Invention*, and without Book, For there is no mention of the *Witches Closet*, or her retiring into another Room, or her *Confederate*, or her *Form of Conjurati*on: I say, nothing of all this, is as much as intimated in the *History*; & if we may take this large Liberty in the interpretation of *Scripture*, there is scarce a *Story* in the *Bible* but may be made a *Fallacy*, an *Imposture*, or any thing that we please. Nor is this *Fancy* of his only arbitrary, but indeed contrary to the *circumstances* of the *Text*. For it says, *Saul perceived it was Samuel*, and bowed himself, and this *Samuel truly* foretold his approaching Fate, viz. That *Israel* should be delivered with him into the hands of the *Philistines*; and that on the morrow *He* and his *Sons* should be in the state of the *Dead*, which doubtless is meant by the expression, that [they should be with him.] Which contingent particulars, how could the *Cozener* and her *Confederate* foretel, if there were nothing in it extraordinary and preternatural.

It hath indeed been a great dispute among *Interpreters*, whether the real *Samuel* was raised, or the *Devil* in his likeness? Most later *Writers* suppose it to have been an evil Spirit, upon the supposition that good and happy Souls can never return hither from their *Cœlestial* abodes; and they are not certainly at the beck and call of an impious Hagg. But then those of the other side urge, that the *Piety* of the words that were spoke, and the seasonable reproof given to despairing *Saul*, are indications sufficient that they come not from *Hell*; and especially they think the *Prophecy of Circumstances* very accidental to be an argument, that it was not utter'd by any of the *infernal Predictors*. And for the supposal that is the ground of that interpretation, 'tis judged exceedingly precarious; for who saith that happy departed Souls were never employed in any *ministries* here below? And those dissenters are ready to ask a reason, why they may  
not

not be sent in Messages to *Earth*, as well as *those* of the *Angelical Order*? They are nearer allied to our *Natures*, and upon that account more *intimately concerned* in our affairs; and the example of returning *Lazarus* is evidence of the thing *de facto*. Besides which, that it was the real *Samuel* they think made probable by the opinion of *Jesus the Son of Syrac*, *Eccles. XLVI. 19, 20.* who faith of him, That *after his death he prophesied and shewed the King his end*: which also is likely from the circumstance of the womans *astonishment*, and crying out when she saw him, intimating her *surprize*, in that the power of God had over-ruled her *Enchantments*, and sent another than she expected. And they conceive there is no more incongruity in supposing God should send *Samuel* to rebuke *Saul* for this his last folly, and to predict his instant ruine, than in his interposing *Elias* to the Messengers of *Abazias* when he sent to *Beelzebub*. Now if it were the real *Samuel*, as the *Letter* expresseth, (and the obvious sence is to be followed when there is no cogent reason to decline it) he was not raised by the power of the *Witches Enchantments*, but came on that occasion on a *Divine Errand*. But yet attempts and endeavours to raise her *Familiar Spirit*, (though at that time over-ruled) are arguments that it had been her custom to do so. Or if it were as the other side concludes, the *Devil* in the shape of *Samuel*, her *diabolical Confederacy* is yet more palpable.

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## SECT. XVIII.

I HAVE now done with *SCOT*, and his presumptions; and am apt to fancy, that there is nothing more needful to be said to discover the Discoverer. But there is an *Author* infinitely more valuable, that calls me to consider him, 'Tis the great *Episcopus*, who, though he grants a sort of *Witches* and *Magicians*, yet denies *Compacts*. His *Authority*, I confess, is considerable, but let us weigh his *Reasons*.

His *First* is, That there is no *Example* of any of the *prophane Nations* that were in such *Compact*; whence he would infer, that there are no *express Covenants* with *evil Spirits* in particular instances. But I think that both *proposition* and *consequence*, are very *obnoxious* and *defective*. For that there were *Nations* that did actually worship the *Devil* is plain enough in the *Records* of *ancient times*, and some so read that place in the *Psalms*, *The Gods of the Heathen are Devils*; and *Sathan* we know is call'd the *God of this World*. Yea, our *Author* himself confesseth that the *Nation* of the *Jews* were so strictly prohibited *Witchcraft*, and all *Transaction* with *evil Spirits*; because of their *proneness* to worship them. But what need more? There are at this day that pay *sacrifice*, and all *sacred Homage* to the wicked One in a *visible appearance*; and 'tis well known to those of our own that *traffick*, and reside in those parts, that the *Caribbians* worship the *Devil* under the name of *Maboya*, who frequently shews himself, and transacts with them; the like *Travellers* relate concerning divers other parts of the *barbarous Indies*: and 'tis confidently reported by sober intelligent men that have visited those places, that most of the *Laplanders*, and some other *Northern* people, are *Witches*. That 'tis plain that there are *National Confederacies* with *Devils*; or, if there were none, I see not how it could be inferred thence, that there are no *personal* ones, no more, than that there were never any *Demoniacks*, because we know of no *Nation universally possessed*; nor any *Lunaticks* in the *World*, because there is no *Countrey* of *Madmen*. But our *Author* reasons again,

(2) To this purpose; "That the *profligate* persons who are *obnoxious* to those *gross temptations*, are fast enough before; and therefore such a *Covenant* were needless, and of no *avail* to the *Tempters projects*."

This *Objection* I have answered already, in my *Remarques* upon the IX. *Prejudice*; and mind you again here, that if the *designs* of those *evil Spirits* were only  
in



in general to secure wicked men to the dark Kingdom, it might better be pretended that we cannot give a reason for their temptations, and endeavours in this kind; But it being likely, as I have conjectur'd, that each of those infernal Tempters hath a particular property in those he hath seduced, and secured by such compacts, their respective pride and tyrannical desire of slaves, may reasonably be thought to engage them in such Attempts in which their so peculiar interest is concerned.

But I add what is more direct, viz. That such desperate Sinners are made more safe to the infernal Kingdom at large, by such Hellish Covenants and Combinations: since thereby they confirm, and harden their Hearts against God, and put themselves at a greater distance from his Grace, and his Spirit; give the deepest wound to Conscience, and resolve to wink against all its light and convictions; throw a Bar in the way of their own Repentance, and lay a Train for despair of Mercy. These certainly are sure ways of being undone, and the Devil, we see, hath great interest in a project, the success of which is so attended. And we know he made the assault de facto upon our Saviour, when he tempted him to fall down, and worship. So that this learned Author hath but little reason to object,

(3) That to endeavour such an exprefs Covenant is contrary to the interests of Hell; which indeed are this way so mightily promoted. And whereas he suggests, that a thing so horrid is like to startle Conscience, and awaken the Soul to Consideration and Repentance: I Reply, That indeed considering man in the general, as a rational Creature, acted by hopes, and fears, and sensible of the joys and miseries of another World, one would expect it should be so: But then, if we cast our eyes upon man, as really he is, sunk into flesh and present sense; darkned in his mind, and governed by his imagination; blinded by his passions, and besotted by sin and folly; hardened by evil Customs, and hurried away by the torrent of his inclinations and desires: I say, looking on man in this mis-

able state of *Evil*, 'tis not incredible that he should be prevailed upon by the *Tempter*, and his own *Lusts* to act at a wonderful rate of *Madness*, and continue unconcerned and stupid in it; intent upon his present *Satisfactions*, without sense or consideration of the *Dreadfulness* and *Danger* of his *Condition*; and by this I am furnished also to meet a fourth *Objection* of our *Author's*, viz.

(4) That 'tis not probable upon the *Witches* part, that they will be so desperate to renounce *God* and eternal *Happiness*, and so, everlastingly undoe their *Bodies* and *Souls*, for a short and trivial interest; which way of arguing will only infer, that Mankind acts sometimes to prodigious degrees of brutishness; and actually we see it in the instances of every day. There is not a *Lust* so base, and so contemptible, but there are those continually, in our eyes, that feed it with the sacrifice of their eternity, and their *Souls*; and daring Sinners rush upon the blackest villainies with so little remorse, or sense, as if it were their design to prove that they have nothing left them of that whereby they are men. So that nought can be inferred from this Argument, but that humane nature is incredibly degenerate; and the *Vileness* and *Stupidity* of men is really so great, that things are customary, and common, which one could not think possible, if he did not hourly see them. And if men of liberal Education, and acute Reason, that know their *Duty*, and their *Danger*, are driven by their *Apperites*, with their *Eyes* open, upon the most fatal *Rocks*, and make all the haste they can from their *God*, and their *Happiness*; If such can barter their *Souls* for trifles, and sell *Everlastingness* for a moment; sport upon the brink of a *Precipice*, and contemn all the terrors of the future dreadful Day; Why should it then be incredible, that a brutish, vile person, sotted with *Ignorance*. and drunk with *Malice*, mindless of *God*, and unconcerned about a future *Being*, should be persuaded to accept of present, delightful *Gratifications*, without duly weighing the desperate *Condition*?

Thus, I suppose, I have answered also the Argument of  
this

this *Great man*, against the *Covenants* of *Witches*; and since a Person of such *Sagacity* and *Learning*, hath *no more* to say against what I defend, and another of the *same* Character, the ingenious Mr. *S. Parker*, who directed me to him, reckons *these* the strongest things that can be *objected* in the Case, I begin to arrive to an *higher degree* of confidence in this belief; and am almost inclined to *fancy*, that there is little more to be said to purpose, which may not by the improvement of my *CONSIDERATIONS* be easily answered; and I am yet the more fortified in my conceit, because I have since the former *Edition* of this Book, sent to several *acute* and ingenious persons of my acquaintance, to beg their *Objections*, or *those* they have heard from others, against my *Discourse* or *Relations*, that I might consider them in *this*: But I can procure *none* save only *those few* I have now discuss'd, most of my Friends telling me, that they have not met with *any* that *need*, or *deserve* my notice.

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## S E C T. XIX.

**B**Y all this it is evident, that there were *WITCHES* in ancient times under the *Dispensation* of the *LAW*; and that there were such in the *times* of the *GOSPEL* also, will not be much more difficult to make good. I had a late occasion to say something about this, in a *Letter* to a Person of the highest honour, from which I shall now borrow some things to my present purpose.

**I** SAY then (II.) That there were *Compacts* with *evil Spirits* in *those times* also, is methinks intimated strongly in that saying of the *Jews* concerning our *Saviour*, *That he cast out Devils by Beelzebub*. In his return to which, he denies not the *Supposition* or *Possibility* of the *thing* in general; but clears himself by an appeal to the *Actions* of their own Children, whom they would



not tax so severely. And I cannot very well understand why those times should be priviledged from *WITCHCRAFT*, and *Diabolical Compacts*, more than they were from *Possessions*, which we know were then more frequent (for ought appears to the contrary) than ever they were before or since. But besides this, There are intimations plain enough in the *Apostles Writings* of the being of *Sorcery* and *WITCHCRAFT*. St. Paul reckons *Witchcraft* next *Idolatry*, in his *Catalogue* of the works of the flesh, Gal. V. 20. and the Sorcerers are again join'd with *Idolaters* in that sad *Denunciation*, Rev. XXI. 8. and a little after, Rev. XXII. 15. they are reckoned again among *Idolaters*, *Murderers*, and those others that are *without*. And methinks the story of *Simon Magus*, and his *diabolical Oppositions* of the Gospel in its beginnings, should afford clear conviction. To all which, I add this more general consideration,

(3) That though the *New Testament* had mention'd nothing of this matter, yet its *silence* in such cases is not *argumentative*. Our Saviour spake as he had occasion, and the thousandth part of what he did, and said, is not recorded, as one of his Historians intimates. He said nothing of those large unknown *Tracts* of *America*, nor gave he any intimations of as much as the *Existence* of that numerous people; much less did he leave *instructions* about their *conversion*. He gives no account of the *affairs* and *state* of the other world, but only that general one of the *happiness* of some, and the *misery* of others. He made no discovery of the *Magnalia* of *Art* or *Nature*; no, not of those, whereby the *propagation* of the Gospel might have been much *advanced*, viz. the *Mystery* of *Printing*, and the *Magnet*; and yet no one useth his *silence* in these instances, as an argument against the being of things, which are *evident objects* of *sense*. I confess, the omission of some of these *particulars* is pretty strange, and unaccountable, and concludes our *ignorance* of the *reasons*, and *menages* of *Providence*; but I suppose, *nothing else*. I thought, I needed here to have said no more,

more, but I consider, in consequence of this *Objection*, it is pretended; That as *CHRIST JESUS* drove the *Devil* from his *Temples*, and his *Altars* (as is clear in the *Cessation* of *Oracles*, which dwindled away, and at last grew silent shortly upon his appearance) so in like manner, 'tis said, that he banisht *Him* from his lesser holds in *Sorcerers* and *Witches*; which argument is peccant both in what it affirms, and in what it would infer. For

(1.) The coming of the *H. JESUS* did not expel the *Devil* from all the greater places of his residence and worship; for a considerable part of barbarous Mankind do him publick, solemn Homage, to this day: So that the very foundation of the pretence fails, and the Consequence without any more ado comes to nothing. And yet besides,

(2.) If there be any credit to be given to *Ecclesiastical History*, there were persons possessed with *Devils* some Ages after *Christ*, whom the *Disciples* cast out by *Prayer*, and the *Invocation* of his *Name*: So that *Sathan* was not driven from his lesser habitations, as soon as he was forced from his more famous abodes. And I see no reason

(3.) *Why*, Though Divine Providence would not allow him publickly to abuse the *Nations*, whom he had designed in a short time after, for Subjects of his Son's Kingdom, and to stand up in the face of *Religion* in an open affront to the *Divinity* that planted it, to the great hindrance of the progress of the *Gospel*, and discouragement of *Christian* hopes; I say, Though Providence would not allow this height of insolent opposition; yet I see not why we may not grant, that God however permitted the *Devil* to sneak into some private skulking holes, and to trade with the particular more devoted vassals of his wicked Empire: As we know that when our Saviour had chased him from the man that was possessed, he permitted his retreat into the herd of *Swine*. And I might add,

(4.) That

(4.) That 'tis but a *bad* way of arguing, to set up *fancied congruities* against *plain experience*, as is evidently done by those *arguers*, who, because they think that *Christ* chased the *Devil* from all his *high places* of worship when he came; that 'tis therefore *fit* he should have forced him from all his other less *notorious Haunts*: and upon the *imagination* of a *decency*, which they frame, conclude a *fact*, contrary to the greatest evidence of which the thing is capable. And once more,

(5.) The consequence of this *imagined Decorum*, if it be pursued, would be *this*, that *Sathan* should now be deprived of all the *ways* and *tricks* of *Couzenage*, whereby he abuseth us; and *mankind* since the coming of *Christ*, should have been secure from all his *Temptations*; for there is a greater *congruity* in believing, that, when he was forced from his *haunts* in *Temples* and *publick* places, he should be put also from those *nearer* ones, about us and *within* us in his daily *temptations* of *universal* Mankind; than, that upon relinquishing *those*, he should be made to leave all *profest communication* and *correspondence* with those *profligate* persons, whose *vileness* had fitted them for such *company*.

So that *these Reasoners* are very Fair for the *denial* of all *internal diabolical Temptations*. And because I durst not trust them, I'll crave your leave here to add some things concerning *those*.

In order to which that I may obtain the favour of those *wary* persons, who are so *coy*, and *shy* of their *assent*, I grant; That men frequently out of a desire to *excuse themselves*, lay their *own* guilt upon the *Devil*, and charge him with things of which in earnest he is not *guilty*: For I doubt not but every *wicked* man hath *Devil* enough in his *own nature* to prompt him to Evil, and needs not another *Tempter* to incite him. But yet, that *Sathan* endeavours to further our *wickedness*, and our *ruine* by his *enticements*, and goes up and down seeking whom he may devour, is too evident in the *holy Oracles*, to need my endeavours particularly to make it good; Only those  
diffident



*diffident* men cannot perhaps apprehend the *manner* of the *operation*, and from thence are *tempted* to *believe*, that there is really no such thing. Therefore I judge it requisite to explain *this*, and 'tis not unsuitable to my general subject.

In order to it I consider, That *sense* is *primarily* caused by *motion* in the *Organs*, which by *continuity* is *conveyed* to the *brain*, where *sensation* is *immediately* performed; and it is *nothing* else, but a *notice* excited in the *Soul* by the *impulse* of an *external* object. Thus it is in *simple outward sense*. But *imagination*, though caused *immediately* by *material motion* also, yet it differs from the *external senses* in *this*, That 'tis not from an *impress* directly from *without*, but the *prime*, and *original motion* is from *within* our *selves*: Thus the *Soul* it self sometimes strikes upon those *strings*, whose motion begets such, and such *phantasms*; otherwhile, the *loose Spirits* wandering up and down in the *brain*, casually hit upon such *filaments* and *strings* whose motion excites a *conception*, which we call a *Fancy*, or *Imagination*; and if the *evidence* of the *outward senses* be shut out by *sleep* or *melancholy*, in either case, we *believe* those *representations* to be *real* and *external transactions*, when they are only *within* our *heads*; Thus it is in *Enthusiasms*, and *Dreams*. And besides *these* causes of the *motions* which stir *imagination*, there is little doubt, but that *Spirits* good, or bad can so move the *instruments* of *sense* in the *brain*, as to *awake* such *imaginations*, as they have a mind to *excite*; and the *imagination* having a mighty *influence* upon the *affections*, and *they* upon the *will* and *external actions*, 'tis very easie to conceive how *good Angels* may stir us up to *Religion* and *Vertue*, and the *Evil ones* tempt us to *Lewdness* and *Vice*, viz. by *representments* that they make upon the *stage* of *imagination*, which invite our *affections*, and *allure*, though they cannot *compel*, our *wills*.

This I take to be an *intelligible* account of *temptations*, and also of *Angelical encouragements*; and perhaps *this* is the only way of *immediate influence* that the *Spirits* of  
the

the other world have upon us. And by it, 'tis easie to give an account of *Dreams* both *Monitory*, and *Temperamental*, *Enthusiasms*, *Fanatick Ecstasies*, and the like, as I suggested.

Thus, Sir, to the FIRST. But the other pretence also must be examined.

## SECT. XX.

(2.) **M**IRACLES are ceast, therefore the presumed actions of Witchcraft are tales, and illusions.]

To make a due return to this, we must consider a great and difficult Problem, which is, *What is a real Miracle?* And for answer to this weighty Question, I think,

(1.) **T**HAT it is not the *strangeness*, or *unaccountableness* of the thing done simply, from whence we are to conclude a *Miracle*. For then, we are so to account of all the *Magnalia* of *Nature*, and all the *Mysteries* of those *honest Arts*, which we do not understand.

Nor, (2.) is this the *Criterion* of a *Miracle*, That it is an action or event beyond all *natural powers*; for we are ignorant of the *extent* and *bounds* of *Natures sphere*, and *possibilities*: And if this were the *character* and *essential mark* of a *Miracle*, we could not know what was so; except we could determine the *extent* of *natural causalities*, and fix their *bounds*, and be able to say to *Nature*, *Hitherto canst thou go, and no further*. And he that makes this his measure whereby to judge a *Miracle*, is himself the *greatest Miracle* of *knowledge*, or *immodesty*. Besides, though an effect may transcend *really* all the *powers* of *meer nature*; yet there is a *world* of *spirits* that must be taken into our account. And as to them also I say,

(3.) Every thing is not a *Miracle*, that is done by  
Agents

*Agents supernatural.* There is no doubt but that *evil Spirits* can make wonderful combinations of natural causes, and perhaps perform many things immediately which are prodigious, and beyond the longest line of Nature: but yet *These* are not therefore to be called *Miracles*; for, *THEY* are *SACRED WONDERS*, and suppose the *POWER* to be *DIVINE*. But how shall the power be known to be so, when we so little understand the capacities, and extent of the abilities of lower *Agents*? The Answer to this *Question* will discover the *Criterion* of *Miracles*, which must be supposed to have all the former particulars; (They are unaccountable, beyond the powers of meer Nature, and done by *Agents supernatural*) and to these must be superadded,

(4.) That they have peculiar circumstances that speak them of a *divine Original*. Their mediate Authors declare them to be so, and they are always persons of *Simplicity, Truth, and Holiness, void of Ambition, and all secular Designs*. They seldom use *Ceremonies, or natural Applications*, and yet surmount all the activities of known Nature. They work those wonders, not to raise admiration, or out of the vanity to be talkt of; but to seal and confirm some *Divine Doctrine, or Commission*, in which the good and happiness of the World is concern'd. I say by such circumstances as these, wonderful Actions are known to be from a *Divine cause*; and that makes, and distinguisheth a *Miracle*.

And thus I am prepared for an *Answer* to the *Objection*, to which I make this brief return, That tho' *WITCHES* by their *Confederate Spirit* do those odd, and astonishing things we believe of them; yet are they no *Miracles*, there being evidence enough from the badness of their *Lives*, and the ridiculous *Ceremonies* of their performances, from their malice and mischievous designs, that the *POWER* that works, and the end for which those things are done, is not *Divine*, but *Diabolical*. And by singular *Providence* they are not ordinarily permitted, as much as to pretend to any new sacred Discoveries in matters of Religion,



*Religion*, or to act any thing for *Confirmation* of *doctrinal Impostures*. So that whether *Miracles* are *ceased*, or not, *these* are *none*. And that such *Miracles* as are only *strange*, and *unaccountable* performances, above the common *methods* of *Art* or *Nature*, are not *ceas'd*, we have a late great Evidence in the famous *GREAT RAK*; concerning whom it will not be impertinent to add the following *Account* which I had in a *Letter* from the Reverend Dr. R. Dean of C. a person of great *Veracity*, and a *Philosopher*. This learned Gentleman then is pleased thus to write.

“THE great discourse now at the *Coffee-houses*, and  
 “every where is about Mr. G. the famous *Irish*  
 “*Stroker*, concerning whom it is like you expect an ac-  
 “count from me. He undergoes various censures here,  
 “some take him to be a *Conjurer*, and some, an *Impostor*,  
 “but others again *adore* him as an *Apostle*. I confess I  
 “think the man is free from all *design*, of a very agree-  
 “able Conversation, not addicted to any *Vice*, nor to  
 “any *Sect* or *Party*; but is, I believe, a sincere *Prote-*  
 “*stant*. I was three weeks together with him at my Lord  
 “*Conway's*, and saw him, I think, lay his hands upon a  
 “thousand persons; and *really* there is something in it  
 “more than *ordinary*; but I am convinc'd it is not *mira-*  
 “*culous*. I have seen *Pains* strangely fly before his hand  
 “till he hath chafed them out of the Body, *Dimness* *clea-*  
 “*red*, and *Deafness* cured by his *touch*; Twenty persons at  
 “several times in *Fits* of the *Falling-Sickness*, were in  
 “two or three minutes brought to themselves, so as to  
 “tell where their pain was, and then he hath pursued  
 “it till he hath driven it out at some extream part;  
 “*Running Sores* of the *King's-Evil* dried up, and  
 “*Kernels* brought to a *Suppuration* by his hand; *grie-*  
 “*vous* Sores of many months date, in few days *healed*;  
 “*Obstructions* and *Stoppings* removed, *Cancerous Knots* in  
 “the Breast dissolved, &c.

“But

" But yet I have many reasons to perswade me, that  
 " nothing of all this is *Miraculous*: He pretends not to  
 " give *Testimony* to any *Doctrine*, the manner of his O-  
 " peration speaks it to be *natural*, the *Cure* seldom suc-  
 " ceeds without *reiterating touches*, his *Patients* often re-  
 " lapse, he *fails frequently*, he can do nothing where  
 " there is any *decay in Nature*, and *many Distempers* are  
 " not at all obedient to his *touch*. So that, I confess, I re-  
 " fer all his vertue to his *particular Temper and Complexi-*  
 " *on*, and I take his *Spirits* to be a kind of *Elixir*, and  
 " *universal Ferment*; and that he cures as (*Dr. M. ex-*  
 " *presseth it*) by a *sanative Contagion*. *Enthusiasm. Tri-*  
 " *umphat. Sect. 58.*

This, Sir, was the *First Account* of the *Healer*, I had  
 from that Reverend Person, which with me signifies  
 more than the *attestations* of multitudes of *ordinary Re-*  
*porters*; and no doubt but it will do so likewise, with  
 all that know that excellent man's singular *Integrity* and  
*Judgment*. But besides this, upon my enquiry into some  
 other particulars about this matter, I received these fur-  
 ther Informations.

" As for Mr. G. what opinion he hath of his *own Gift*,  
 " and how he came to know it? I answer, He hath a dif-  
 " ferent apprehension of it from *yours*, and *mine*, and  
 " certainly believeth it to be an *immediate Gift* from Hea-  
 " ven; and 'tis no wonder, for he is *no Philosopher*.  
 " And you will wonder less, when you hear *how* he came  
 " to *know* it, as I have often received it from his own  
 " mouth. About three or four years ago he had a  
 " strong *impulse* upon his *spirit*, that continually pursued  
 " him whatever he was about, at his *Business*, or *Devo-*  
 " *tion*, alone, or in *company*, that spake to him by this  
 " *inward suggestion* [*I have given thee the gift of curing*  
 " *the Evil.*] This *suggestion* was so importunate, that he  
 " complained to his Wife, That he thought he was  
 " haunted: She apprehended it as an *extravagancy* of  
 " *Fancy*, but he told her he believed there was more in  
 " it, and was resolved to try. He did not long want  
 " opportunity.

"opportunity. There was a Neighbour of his grie-  
 "vously afflicted with the *King's Evil*, He stroked her,  
 "and the effect succeeded. And for about a Twelve-  
 "month together he pretended to cure no other Distem-  
 "per, but then the *Ague* being very rife in the Neigh-  
 "bourhood, the same *Impulse* after the same manner  
 "spoke within him, [*I have given thee the Gift of cu-*  
 "*ring the Ague;*] and meeting with persons in their  
 "*Fits*, and taking them by the hand, or laying his  
 "hand upon their Breasts, the *Ague* left them. About  
 "half a year after the accustomed *Impulse* became more  
 "general, and suggested to him [*I have given thee the*  
 "*Gift of Healing:*] and then he attempted all Diseases  
 "indifferently. And though he saw strange effects, yet  
 "he doubted whether the cause were any vertue that  
 "came from him, or the peoples fancy: To convince  
 "him of his *incredulity*, as he lay one night in bed, one  
 "of his Hands was struck *dead*, and the usual *Impulse*  
 "suggested to him to make trial of his vertue upon  
 "himself, which he did, stroking it with his other hand,  
 "and then it immediately returned to its former *lively-*  
 "*ness*. This was repeated two or three nights (or morn-  
 "ings) together.

"This is his *Relation*, and I believe there is so much  
 "sincerity in the person, that he tells no more than  
 "what he believes to be true. To say that this *Impulse*  
 "too was but a *Result* of his *Temper*, and that it is but like  
 "*Dreams* that are usually according to mens *Constituti-*  
 "*ons*, doth not seem a *probable account* of the *Phanome-*  
 "*non*. Perhaps some may think it more likely, that  
 "some *Genius* who understood the *sanative vertue* of his  
 "*Complexion*, and the *readiness* of his *Mind*, and ability  
 "of his *Body*, to put it in execution, might give him  
 "notice of *that*, which otherwise might have been for  
 "ever *unknown* to him, and so the *Gift of God* had been  
 "to no purpose.

This, Sir, is my Learned and Reverend Friend's *Re-*  
*lation*, and I judge his *Reflections* as *ingenious* as his *Report*  
 is



is *sincere*. I shall say no more about it but *this*, that many of those *matters of Fact*, have been since *critically inspected* and *examined* by several *sagacious* and *deep* searchers of the ROYAL SOCIETY, whom we may suppose as unlikely to be deceived by a *contrived Imposition*, as any persons extant.

And now, Sir, 'tis fit that I relieve your patience ; and I shall do so, when I have said, that *You* can abundantly *prove*, what I have thus attempted to *defend* : And that among the many Obligations your *Country* hath to you, for the *Wisdom* and *Diligence* of your Endeavours in its service ; your *Ingenious Industry* for the *Detecting* of those *vile Practisers*, is not the least *considerable*. To which I will add no more, but the *Confession* who it is that hath given you all this trouble ; which I know you are ready to *pardon*, to the respect and good *Intentions* of,

SIR,

Your Affectionate and Obligated

Honourer and Servant,

J. G.

I

Adver?

# Advertisement.

**H**itherto reacheth the *Author's* ingenious Considerations about Witchcraft. But understanding by his Letters and Papers, that he intended something further to enlarge this First Part of his *Saducismus Triumphatus*, which concerns the Possibility of the Existence of Spirits, Apparitions, and Witches, but that he has done nothing therein, being prevented by Death; I thought it might prove not an unuseful Supplement, to translate most of the two last Chapters of Dr. H. M. his *Enchiridion Metaphysicum* into English, and add it to this First Part, as a suitable Appendage thereto. Which is as follows.

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APPENDAGE  
To this First PART,  
Concerning the  
POSSIBILITY  
O F  
APPARITIONS  
AND  
Witchcraft.

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Containing  
The Easie, True, and Genuine NOTION,  
and consistent Explication of the Nature  
O F A  
SPIRIT,

Whereby  
The POSSIBILITY of the EXISTENCE of  
SPIRITS, APPARITIONS, and  
WITCHCRAFT is further confirmed.

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LONDON,  
Printed for S. Lownds, M DC LXXXVIII.





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THE  
 Easie, True, and Genuine  
 NOTION  
 And Consistent  
 EXPLICATION  
 Of the NATURE of a  
 SPIRIT.

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SECT. I.

*The Opinions of the NULLIBISTS and HOLEN-  
 MERIANS proposed.*

**T**Hat we may explicate the *Essence* or *Notion* of *Incorporeal Beings* or *Spirits*, with the greater satisfaction and success, we are first to remove two vast Mounds of Darkness, wherewith the ignorance of some hath encumbred and obscured their nature.

And the first is of those, who though they readily acknowledge there are such things as *Incorporeal Beings* or *Spirits*, yet do very peremptorily contend that they are *no where* in the whole World. Which opinion, though at the very first sight it appears very ridiculous, yet it is

stiffly held by the maintainers of it, and that not without some Fastuosity and Superciliousness, or at least some more sly and tacite contempt of such Philosophers as hold the contrary, as of men less intellectual and too too much indulging to their *Imagination*. These ~~other~~ therefore because they so boldly affirm that a *Spirit* is *Nullibi*, that is to say, *Nowhere*, have deservedly purchased to themselves the Name or Title of *Nullibists*.

The other Mound of Darkness laid upon the nature of a *Spirit*, is by those who willingly indeed acknowledge that *Spirits* are *somewhere*; but add further That they are not only entirely or totally in their whole *Ubi* or place, (in the most general sence of the word) but are totally in every part or point thereof, and describe the peculiar nature of a *Spirit* to be such, that it must be *Totus in toto & totus in qualibet sui parte*. Which therefore the *Greeks* would fitly and briefly call ἐσίαν ὁλενμερήν, [*An Essence that is all of it in each part*] and this propriety thereof (τῷ ἀσωμάτῳ ἐσίῳ τὴν ὁλενμέραν) the *Holenmerism* of *Incorporeal Beings*. Whence also these other Philosophers diametrically opposite to the former, may most significantly and compendiously be called *Holenmerians*.

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## SECT. II.

*That Cartesius is the Prince of the Nullibists, and wherein chiefly consists the force of their Opinion.*

THE Opinions of both which kind of Philosophers having sufficiently explained, we will now propose and confute the Reasons of each of them; and first of the *Nullibists*. Of whom the chief Authour and Leader seems to have been that pleasant Wit *Renatus des Cartes*, who by his jocular *Metaphysical Meditations*, has so luxated and distorted the rational Faculties of some otherwise sober and quick-witted persons, but in this point by



by reason of their over-great admiration of *Des Cartes* not sufficiently cautious, that deceived, partly by his counterfeit and prestigious subtilty, and partly by his Authority, have perswaded themselves that such things were most *true* and *clear* to them; which had they not been blinded with these prejudices, they could never have thought to have been so much as possible. And so they having been so industriously taught, and diligently instructed by him, how they might not be imposed upon, no not by the most powerful and most ill-minded fallacious Deity, have heedlessly, by not sufficiently standing upon their guard, been deceived and illuded by a meer man, but of a pleasant and abundantly-cunning and abstruse Genius; as shall clearly appear after we have searched and examined the reasons of this Opinion of the *Nullibists* to the very bottom.

The whole force whereof is comprised in these three Axioms. The first, *That whatsoever thinks is Immaterial*, and so on the contrary. The second, *That whatever is extended is Material*. The third, *That whatever is unextended is Nowhere*. To which third I shall add this fourth, as a necessary and manifest Consequence thereof, *viz. That whatsoever is somewhere is extended*. Which the *Nullibists* of themselves will easily grant me to be most true. Otherwise they could not seriously contend for their Opinion, whereby they affirm Spirits to be *nowhere*; but would be found to do it only by way of an oblique and close derision of their Existence, saying indeed they *exist*, but then again hiddenly and cunningly denying it, by affirming they are *nowhere*. Wherefore doubtlessly they affirm them to be *nowhere*, if they are in good earnest, for this reason only; for fear they granting them to be somewhere, it would be presently extorted from them, even according to their own Principles, that they are *extended*, as whatever is extended is *Material*, according to their second Axiome. It is therefore manifest that we both agree in this, that whatever Real Being there is that is *somewhere*, is also *extended*.

## SECT. III.

*The Sophistical weakness of that reasoning of the Nullibists, who, because we can conceive Cogitation without conceiving in the mean while Matter, conclude, That whatsoever thinks is Immaterial.*

WITH which truth notwithstanding we being furnished and supported, I doubt not but we shall with ease quite overthrow and utterly root out this opinion of the *Nullibists*. But that their levity and credulity may more manifestly appear, let us examine the Principles of this Opinion by Parts, and consider how well they make good each member.

The first is, *Whatever thinks is Immaterial*, and on the contrary. The conversion of this Axiome I will not examine, because it makes little to the present purpose. I will only note by the bye, that I doubt not but it may be false, although I easily grant the Axiome it self to be true. But it is this new Method of demonstrating it I call into question, which from hence, that we can conceive *Cogitation*, in the mean time not conceiving *Matter*, concludes that *Whatever thinks is Immaterial*. Now that we can conceive *Cogitation* without conceiving *Matter*, they say is manifest from hence, That although one should suppose there were no Body in the Universe, and should not flinch from that position, yet notwithstanding he would not cease to be certain, that there was *Res cogitans*, a *thinking Being*, in the world, he finding himself to be such. But I further add, though he should suppose there was no *Immaterial Being* in nature (nor indeed *Material*) and should not flinch from that position, yet he would not cease to be certain that there was a *thinking Being*, (no not if he should suppose himself not to be a thinking Being) because he can suppose nothing without *Cogitation*. Which I thought worth the while to note by the bye, that the great levity of  
the

the *Nullibists* might hence more clearly appear.

But yet I add further, that such is the nature of the Mind of Man, that it is like the Eye, better fitted to contemplate other things than it self; and that therefore 'tis no wonder that thinking nothing of its own Essence, it does fixedly enough and intently consider in the mean time and contemplate all other things, yea, those very things with which she has the nearest affinity, and yet without any reflection that her self is of the like nature. Whence it may easily come to pass, when she is so wholly taken up in contemplating other things, without any reflection upon her self, that either carelessly she may consider her self in general as a *meer thinking Being*, without any other Attribute, or else by resolvedness afterwards, and by a force on purpose offered to her own faculties. But that this reasoning is wonderfully weak and trifling as to the proving of the Mind of Man to be nothing else; that is to say, to have no other *Attributes*, but mere *Cogitation*, there is none that does not discern.

#### SECT. IV.

*The true Method that ought to be taken for the proving that MATTER cannot think.*

**L**Astly, If *Cartesius* with his *Nullibists* would have dealt *bonâ fide*, they ought to have omitted all those ambagious windings and Meanders of feigned *Abstraction*, and with a direct stroke to have fallen upon the thing it self, and so to have sifted *Matter*, and searched the nature of *Cogitation*, that they might thence have evidently demonstrated that there was some inseparable Attribute in *Matter* that is repugnant to the *Cogitative* faculty, or in *Cogitation* that is repugnant to *Matter*. But out of the meer diversity of *Idea's* or *Notions* of any *Attributes*, to collect their separability or *real distinction*, yea their contrariety and repugnancy, is most foully



foolly to violate the indispenfible Laws of *Logick*, and to confound *Diverfa* with *Oppofita*, and make them all one. Which miftake to them that underftand *Logick* muft needs appear very courfe and abfurd.

But that the weaknefs and vacillancy of this Method may yet more clearly appear, let us fuppofe that which yet Philofophers of no mean name ferioufly ftand for and assert, viz. That *Cogitative* fubftance is either *Material* or *Immaterial*; does it not apparently follow thence, that a *thinking* fubftance may be precisely conceived without the conception of *Matter*, as *Matter* without the conception of *Cogitation*, when notwithstanding in one of the members of this diftribution they are joined fufficiently clofe together?

How can therefore this new fangled Method of *Cartesius* convince us that this Suppofition is falfe, and that the diftribution is illegitimate? Can it from thence, that *Matter* may be conceived without *Cogitation*, and *Cogitation* without *Matter*? The firft all grant, and the other the diftribution it felf fuppofes; and yet continues fufficiently firm and fure. Therefore it is very evident, that there is a neceffity of our having recourfe to the known and ratified Laws of *Logick*, which many Ages before this new upftart Method of *Des Cartes* appeared, were eftablifhed and approved by the common fuffrage of Mankind; Which teach us that in every legitimate diftribution the parts ought *confentire cum toto*, & *difsentire inter fe*, to agree with the Whole, but difagree one with another. Now in this Diftribution that they do fufficiently difagree, it is very manifelt. It remains only to be proved, that one of the parts, namely that which fuppofes that a *Cogitative* fubftance may be *Material*, is repugnant to the nature of the Whole. This is that clear, folid and manifelt way or method according to the known Laws of *Logick*; but that new way, a kind of Sophiftry and pleasant mode of trifling and prevaricating.

## SECT. V.

*That all things are in some sort extended, demonstrated out of the Corollary of the third Principle of the Nullibists.*

**A**S for the second Axiome or Principle, *viz.* *That whatsoever is extended is Material*; for the evincing the falsity thereof, there want no new Arguments, if one have but recourse to the Sixth, Seventh, and Eighth Chapters of *Enchiridium Metaphysicum*, where, by unanswerable reasonings it is demonstrated, That there is a certain Immaterial and Immoveable *Extensum* distinct from the Moveable Matter. But however, out of the Confectary of their third Principle, we shall prove at once, that all Spirits are extended as being somewhere, against the wild and ridiculous Opinion of the *Nullibists*.

Whose third Principle, and out of which immediately and precisely they conclude Spirits to be no where, is, *Whatsoever is unextended, is no where.* Which I very willingly grant; but on this condition, that they on the other side concede (and I doubt not but they will) That *whatsoever is somewhere is also extended*; from which Confectary I will evince with Mathematical certainty, That God and our Soul, and all other Immaterial Beings, are in some sort extended: For the *Nullibists* themselves acknowledge and assert, that the Operations wherewith the Soul acts on the Body, are in the Body; and that Power or Divine Vertue wherewith God acts on the Matter and moves it, is present in every part of the Matter. Whence it is easily gathered, That the Operation of the Soul and the moving Power of God is somewhere, *viz.* in the *Body*, and in the *Matter*. But the Operation of the *Soul* wherewith it acts on the *Body* and the *Soul* it self, and the Divine Power wherewith *God* moves the *Matter* and *God* himself, are together, nor  
can

can so much as be imagined separate one from the other; namely, the *Operation* from the *Soul*, and the *Power* from *God*. Wherefore if the *Operation* of the *Soul* is somewhere, the *Soul* is somewhere, viz. there where the *Operation*. And if the *Power* of *God* be somewhere, *God* is somewhere, namely, there where the *Divine Power* is; He in every part of the *Matter*, the *Soul* in the humane *Body*. Whosoever can deny this, by the same reason he may deny that common Notion in *Mathematicks*, *Quantities* that are singly equal to one third, are equal to one another.

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### SECT. VI.

*The apert confession of the Nullibists that the ESSENCE of a Spirit is where its OPERATION is; and how they contradict themselves, and are forced to acknowledge a Spirit extended.*

AND verily that which we contend for, the *Nullibists* seem apertly to assert, even in their own express words, as it is evident in *Lambertus Velthusius* in his *De Initiis Primæ Philosophiæ* in the Chapter *De Ubi*. Who though he does manifestly affirm that *God* and the *Mind* of *Man* by their *Operations*, are in every part, or some one part of the *Matter*; and that in that sence, namely, in respect of their *Operations*, the *Soul* may be truly said to be *somewhere*, *God* *everywhere*; as if that were the only mode of their presence: yet he does expressly grant, that the *Essence* is no where separate from that whereby *God*, or a *Created Spirit* is said to be, the one *everywhere*, the other *somewhere*; that no man may conceit the *Essence* of *God* to be where the rest of his *Attributes* are not. That the *Essence* of *God* is in *Heaven*, but that his *Vertue* diffuses it self beyond *Heaven*. No, by no means, saith he, Wheresoever *God's Power* or *Operation* is, there is the *Nature* of *God*; forasmuch.



as God is a Substance devoid of all composition. Thus far *Velthusius*. Whence I assume, But the Power or Operation of God is in or present to the *Matter*; Therefore the *Essence* of God is in or present to the *Matter*, and is there where the *Matter* is, and therefore *somewhere*. Can there be any deduction or illation more close and coherent with the Premisses?

And yet that other most devoted follower of the *Cartesian* Philosophy, *Ludovicus de la Forge*, cannot abstain from the offering us the same advantage of arguing, or rather from the inferring the same conclusion with us in his Treatise *De Mente Humana*, Chap. 12. where occur these words: Lastly, when I say that *God* is present to all things by his *Omnipotency*, (and consequently to all the parts of the *Matter*) I do not deny but that also by his *Essence* or *Substance* he is present to them: For all those things in God are one and the same.

Dost thou hear, my *Nullibist*, what one of the chiefest of thy Condisciples and most religious Symmysts of that stupendious secret of *Nullibism* plainly professes, namely, that *God*, is present to all the parts of *Matter* by his *Essence* also, or *Substance*? And yet you in the mean while blush not to assert, that neither God, nor any created Spirit is any where; than which nothing more contradictory can be spoke or thought, or more abhorring from all reason. Wherefore whenas the *Nullibists* come so near to the truth, it seems impossible they should, so all of a sudden, start from it, unless they were blinded with a superstitious admiration of *Des Cartes* his Metaphysicks, and were deluded, effascinated and befooled with his jocular Subtilty and prestigious Abstractions there: For who in his right wits can acknowledge that a *Spirit* by its *Essence* may be present to *Matter*, and yet be *no where*, unless the *Matter* were nowhere also? And that a *Spirit* may penetrate, possess, and actuate some determinate Body, and yet not be in that Body? In which if it be, it is plainly necessary it be somewhere.

And

And yet the same *Ludovicus de laForge* does manifestly assert, that the Body is thus possess'd & actuated by the Soul, in his Preface to his Treatise *de Mente Humana*, while he declares the Opinion of *Marsilius Ficinus* concerning the manner how the Soul actuates the Body in *Marsilius* his own words, and does of his own accord assent to his Opinion. What therefore do these *Forms* to the Body when they communicate to it their *Esse*? They thoroughly penetrate it with their *Essence*, they bequeath the *Vertue* of their *Essence* to it. But now whereas the *Esse* is deduced from the *Essence*, and the *Operation* flows from the *Vertue*, by conjoining the *Essence* they impart the *Esse*, by bequeathing the *Vertue* they communicate the *Operations*; so that out of the congress of Soul and Body, there is made one *Animal Esse*, one *Operation*. Thus he. The Soul with her *Essence* penetrates and pervades the whole Body, and yet is not where the Body is, but nowhere in the Universe!

With what manifest repugnancy therefore to their other *Assertions* the *Nullibists* hold this ridiculous Conclusion, we have sufficiently seen, and how weak their chiefest prop is, That *whatever is Extended is Material*; which is not only confuted by irrefragable Arguments, Chap. 6, 7. and 8. *Enchirid. Metaphys.* but we have here also, by so clearly proving that all *Spirits* are *somewhere*, utterly subverted it, even from that very Concession or Opinion of the *Nullibists* themselves, who concede or aver, that *whatsoever is somewhere is extended*. Which *Spirits* are and yet are not *Material*.

## SECT. VII.

*The more light reasonings of the Nullibists whereby they would confirm their Opinion. The first of which is, That the Soul thinks of those things which are nowhere.*

**B**UT we shall not pass by their more slight reasonings in so great a matter, or rather so monstrous. Of which the first is, That the Mind of Man thinks of such things as are *nowhere*, nor have any relation to place, no not so much as to *Logical* place or *Ubi*. Of which sort are many truths as well *Moral* as *Theological* and *Logical*, which being of such a nature that they are *nowhere*, the Mind of Man which conceives them is necessarily *nowhere* also. But how crazily and inconsequently they collect that the humane Soul is *nowhere*, for that it thinks of those things that are *nowhere*, may be apparent to any one from hence, and especially to the *Nullibists* themselves; because from the same reason it would follow that the *Mind* of Man is *somewhere*, because sometimes, if not always in a manner, it thinks of those things which are *somewhere*, as all *Material* things are. Which yet they dare not grant, because it would plainly follow from thence, according to their Doctrine, that the Mind or Soul of Man were *extended*, and so would become *corporeal* and devoid of all *Cogitation*. But besides, These things which they say are *nowhere*, namely, certain *Moral*, *Logical*, and *Theological* Truths, are really *somewhere*, viz. in the Soul it self which conceives them; but the Soul is in the Body, as we proved above. Whence it is manifest that the Soul and those Truths which she conceives are as well *somewhere* as the Body it self. I grant that some Truths as they are *Representations*, neither respect *Time* nor *Place* in whatever sense. But as they are *Operations*, and therefore *Modes* of some *Subject* or *Substance*, they cannot be otherwise conceived than in some substance. And forasmuch as there is no  
substance



substance which has not some amplitude, they are in a substance which is in some sort extended; and so by reason of their *Subject* they are necessarily conceived to be somewhere, because a *Mode* is inseparable from a *Subject*.

Nor am I at all moved with that giddy and rash tergiversation which some betake themselves to here, who say we do not well in distinguishing betwixt *Cogitation* (such as are all conceived verities) and the *Substance* of the *Soul* cogitating: For *cogitation* it self is the very *Substance* of the *Soul*, as *Extension* is of *Matter*; and that therefore the *Soul* is as well *nowhere* as any *Cogitation*, which respects neither time nor place, would be, if it were found in no *Subject*. But here the *Nullibists*, who would thus escape, do not observe, that while they acknowledge the *Substance* of the *Soul* to be *Cogitation*, they therewithal acknowledge the *Soul* to have a *Substance*, whence it is necessary it have some amplitude. And besides, This Assertion whereby they assert *Cogitation* to be the very substance of the *Soul*, is manifestly false. For many Operations of the *Soul*, are, as they speak, *specifically* different; Which therefore succeeding one after another, will be so many *Substances* *specifically* different. And so the *Soul* of *Socrates* will not always be the same *specific* *Soul*, and much less the same *numerical*; Than which what can be imagined more delirant, and more remote from common sense?

To which you may add, That the *Soul* of man is a *permanent* Being, but her *Cogitations* in a *flux* or *succession*; How then can the very substance of the *Soul* be its successive Operations? And when the *Substance* of the *Soul* does so perpetually cease or perish, what I beseech you will become of Memory? From whence it is manifestly evident, that there is a certain *permanent* *Substance* of the *Soul*, as much distinct or different from her succeeding *Cogitations*, as the *Matter* it self is from its successive *figures* and *motions*.

## SECT. VIII.

The second reason of the Nullibists, viz. That *COGITATION* is easily conceived without *EXTENSION*.

THE second Reason is somewhat co-incident with some of those we have already examined; but it is briefly proposed by them thus; There can be no conception, no not of a *Logical Place*, or *Ubi*, without *Extension*. But *Cogitation* is easily conceived without conceiving any *Extension*: Wherefore the Mind cogitating, exempt from all *Extension*, is exempt also from all *Locality* whether *Physical* or *Logical*; and is so loosened from it, that it has no *relation* nor *applicability* thereto. As if those things had no relation nor applicability to other certain things without which they might be conceived.

The weakness of this argumentation is easily apprehended from hence, That the *Intenseness* of heat or motion is considered without any respect to its *extension*, and yet it is referred to an extended Subject, viz. To a Bullet shot, or red hot Iron. And though in intent and defixed thoughts upon some either difficult or pleasing Object, we do not at all observe how the time passeth, nor take the slightest notice of it, nothing hinders notwithstanding but those Cogitations may be applied to time, and it be rightly said, that about six a Clock, suppose, in the Morning they began, and continued till Eleven; and in like manner the place may be defined where they were conceived, viz. within the Walls of such an ones Study, although perhaps all that time this so fixt Contemplator did not take notice whether he was in his Study, or in the Fields.

And to speak out the matter at once, From the *precision* of our thoughts to infer the *real* precision or *separation* of the things themselves, is a very putid and puerile  
K Sophism;

Sophism ; and still the more enormous and wild, to collect also thence, that they have no relation or applicability one to another. For we may have a clear and distinct *apprehension* of a thing which may be connected with another by an *essential* Tye, that Tye being not taken notice of, (and much more when they are connected only with a *circumstantial* one) but not a full and adequate *apprehension*, and such as sees through and penetrates all the degrees of its Essence with their properties ; Which unless a man reach to, he cannot rightly judge of the real separability of any nature from other natures.

From whence it appears how foully *Cartesius* has imposed, if not upon himself, at least upon others, when from this mental precision of *Cogitation* from *Extension*, he defined a Spirit (such as the humane Soul) by *Cogitation* only, *Matter* by *Extension*, and divided all *Substance* into *Cogitant* and *Extended*, as into their first species or kinds. Which distribution notwithstanding is as absonous and absurd, as if he had distributed *Animal* into *Sensitive* and *Rational*. Whenas all *Substance* is *extended* as well as all *Animals sensitive*. But he fixed his Animadversion upon the *specifick* nature of the humane Soul ; the *Generical* nature thereof, either on purpose or by inadvertency, being not considered nor taken notice of by him, as hath been noted in *Enchiridion Ethicum*, lib. 3. cap. 4. sect. 3.

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## SECT. IX.

*The third and last Reason of the Nullibists, viz. That the Mind is conscious to her self that she is nowhere, unless she be disturbed or jogged by the Body.*

THE third and last Reason which is the most ingenious of them all, occurs in *Lambertus Velthufius*, viz. That it is a truth which God has infused into the Mind



Mind it self, That she is nowhere, because we know by experience that we cannot tell from our spiritual Operations where the Mind is. And for that we know her to be in our Body, that we only perceive from the Operations of *Sense* and *Imagination*, which without the Body, or the motion of the Body, the Mind cannot perform. The sense whereof, if I guess right, is this; That the Mind by a certain internal sense is conscious to herself that she is *nowhere*, unless she be now and then disturbed by the motions or joggings of the Body; which is, as I said, an ingenious presage, but not true: For it is one thing to perceive herself to be *nowhere*, another not to perceive herself to be *somewhere*. For she may not perceive herself to be *somewhere*, though she be *somewhere*, as she may not take notice of her own *Individuality*, or *numerical Distinction*, from all other minds, although she be one *Numerical* or *Individual* mind distinct from the rest: For, as I intimated above, such is the nature of the mind of Man, that like the Eye, it is better fitted for the contemplating all other things, than for contemplating itself. And that indeed which is made for the clearly and sincerely seeing other things, ought to have nothing of it self actually perceptible in it, which it might mingle with the perception of those other things. From whence the Mind of Man is not to have any stable and fixt sense of its own Essence; and such as it cannot easily lay aside upon occasion: And therefore it is no wonder, whenas the Mind of Man can put off the sense and consciousness to it self of its own *Essence* and *Individuality*, that it can put off also therewith the sense of its being *somewhere*, or not perceive it; whenas it does not perceive its own *Essence* and *Individuality*, (of which *Hic & Nunc* are the known Characters) And the chief Objects of the Mind are Universals.

But as the Mind, although it perceives not its *Individuality*, yet can by reason prove to herself that she is some one *Numerical*, or *Individual* Mind, so she can by

the same means, although she by inward sense perceives not where she is, evince notwithstanding that she is somewhere, from the general account of things, which have that of their own nature, that they are *extended, singular, and somewhere*. And besides, *Velthufius* himself does plainly grant, that from the Operations of Sense and Imagination, we know our Mind to be in our Body. How then can we be ignorant that she is *somewhere*, unless the Body itself be *nowhere*?

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### SECT. X.

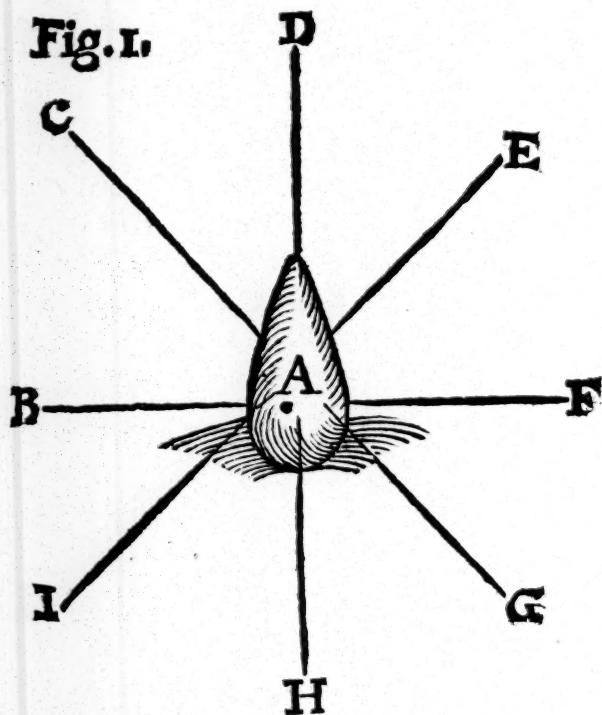
*An Appeal to the internal sense of the Mind, if she be not environed with a certain infinite Extension; together with an excitation of the Nullibist out of his Dream, by the sound of Trumpeters surrounding him.*

THE Reasons of the *Nullibists* whereby they endeavour to maintain their Opinion, are sufficiently enervated and subverted. Nor have we need of any Arguments to establish the contrary Doctrine. I will only desire by the bye, that he that thinks his *Mind* is *nowhere*, would make trial of his faculty of Thinking; and when he has abstracted himself from all thought or sense of his *Body*, and fixed his *Mind* only on an Idea of an indefinite or *infinite Extension*, and also perceives himself to be some *particular cogitant Being*, let him make trial, I say, whether he can any way avoid it, but he must at the same time perceive that he is *somewhere*, namely, within this *immense Extension*, and that he is environ'd round about with it. Verily, I must ingenuously confess, that I cannot conceive otherwise, and that I cannot but conceive an Idea of a certain *Extension infinite and immoveable*, and of *necessary and actual Existence*: Which I most clearly deprehend, not to have been drawn in by the outward sense, but to be innate and essentially inherent in the Mind it self; and so to be the  
genuine

genuine object not of *Imagination*, but of *Intellect*; and that it is but perversly and without all judgment determined by the *Nullibists*, or *Cartesians*, that whatever is extended, is also *φαντασόν τι*, or the Object of *Imagination*; When notwithstanding there is nothing *imaginable*, or the Object of *Imagination*, which is not *sensible*: For all *Phantasms* are drawn from the Senses. But this *infinite Extension* has no more to do with things that are *sensible* and fall under *Imagination*, than that which is most *Incorporeal*. But of this haply it will be more opportune to speak elsewhere.

In the mean time I will subjoin only one Argument, whereby I may manifestly evince, that the Mind of Man is somewhere, and then I will betake my self to the discussing of the Opinion of the *Holenmerians*. Briefly therefore let us suppose some one environed with a Ring of Trumpeters, and that they all at the same time sound their Trumpets. Let us now see if the circumsonant clangor of those surrounding Trumpets sounding from all sides will awake these *Nullibists* out of their *Lethargick Dream*. And let us suppose, which they will willingly concede, that the *Conarion*, or *Glandula Pinealis*, A, is the seat of the common sense, to which at length all the motions from external Objects arrive. Nor is it any matter whether it be this *Conarion*, or some other part of the Brain, or of what is contained in the Brain: But let the *Conarion*, at least for this bout, supply the place of that matter which is the common *Sensorium* of the Soul.





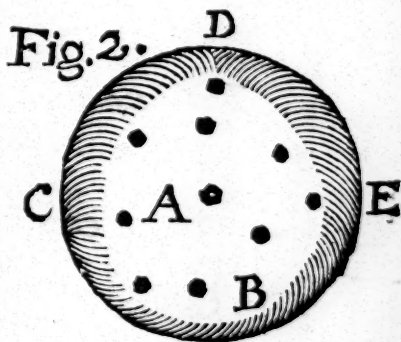
And whenas it is supposed to be surrounded with Eight Trumpeters, let there be Eight Lines drawn from them, namely, from B, C, D, E, F, G, H, I; I say, that the clangour or sound of every Trumpet is carried from the Ring of the Trumpeters to the extream part of every one of those Lines, and all those sounds are heard as coming from the Ring B, C, D, E, F, G, H, I, and perceived in the *Conarion* A; and that the perception is in that part to which all the Lines of motion, as to a common Centre, do concur; and therefore the extream parts of them, and the *perceptions* of the Clangours or Sounds, are in the middle of the Ring of Trumpeters, *viz.* where the *Conarion* is: Wherefore the *Percipient* it self, namely the Soul, is in the midst of this Ring as well as the *Conarion*, and therefore is *somewhere*. Assuredly he that denies that he conceives the force of this Demonstration, and acknowledges that the *Perception* indeed is at the extream parts of the said Lines, and in the

the middle of the Ring of Trumpeters, but contends in the mean time that the *Mind* her self is not there, forasmuch as she is *nowhere*; this man certainly is either delirant and crazed, or else plays tricks, and slimly and obliquely insinuates, that the *perception* which is made in the *Conarion* is to be attributed to the *Conarian* itself; and that the *Mind*, so far as it is conceived to be an *Incorporeal Substance*, is to be exterminated out of the Universe, as an useless Figment and Chimæra.

## SECT. XI.

*The Explication of the Opinion of the Holenmerians, together with their Two Reasons thereof proposed.*

**A**ND thus much of the Opinion of the *Nullibists*. Let us now examine the Opinion of the *Holenmerians*, whose Explication is thus: Let there be what Body you please, suppose C, D, E, which the Soul or a Spirit may possess and penetrate. The *Holenmerians* affirm, that the whole Soul or Spirit does occupy and possess the whole Body C, D, E, by its Essence; and that it is also wholly or all of it in every part or point of the said Body C, D, E, as in A, for Example, and in B, and the rest of the least parts or points of it. This is a brief and clear Explication of their Opinion.



But the Reasons that induce them to embrace it, and so stiffly to maintain it, are these two only, or at least chiefly, as much as respects the *Holenmerism* of *Spirits*. The first is, That whereas they grant that the whole Soul does pervade and possess the whole Body, they thought it would thence follow that the Soul would be

*divisible*, unless they should correct again this Assertion of theirs, by saying, that it was yet so in the whole Body, that it was *totally*, in the mean time, in every part thereof: For thus they thought themselves sure, that the Soul could not thence be argued in any sort *divisible*, or *corporeal*, but still remain purely *spiritual*.

Their other reason is, That from hence it might be easily understood, how the Soul being in the whole Body C, D, E, whatever happens to it in C, or B, it presently perceives it in A; Because the whole Soul being perfectly and entirely, as well in C, or B, as in A, it is necessary that after what fashion soever C or B is affected, A should be affected after the same manner; forasmuch as it is entirely and perfectly one and the same thing, *viz.* the whole Soul, as well in C or B, as in A. And from hence is that vulgar saying in the Schools, *That if the Eye were in the Foot, the Soul would see in the Foot.*

## SECT. XII.

### *The Examination of the Opinion of the Holenmerians.*

**B**UT now, according to our custom, let us weigh and examine all these things in a free and just Balance. In this therefore that they assert, that the whole Soul is in the whole Body, and is all of it penetrated of the Soul by her *Essence*, and therefore seem willingly to acknowledge a certain *essential amplitude* of the Soul, in this, I say, they come near to us, who contend there is a certain *Metaphysical* and *Essential Extension* in all *Spirits*, but such as is *ἀμεγέθους καὶ ἀμερῆς*, devoid of bulk or parts, as Aristotle defines of his *separate substances*: For there is no magnitude or bulk which may not be *physically* divided, nor any parts properly where there is no such division. Whence the *Metaphysical Extension* of *Spirits*,



is rightly understood not to be capable of either *bulk* or *parts*. And in that sence it has *no parts*, it cannot justly be said to be a *Whole*. In that therefore we plainly agree with the *Holenmerians*, that a Soul or Spirit may be said by its Essence to penetrate and possess the *whole Body C, D, E*; but in this again we differ from them, that we dare not affirm that the *whole Spirit* or *whole Soul* does penetrate and possess the said Body, because that which has not *parts* cannot properly be called a *Whole*; though I will not over-stiffly contend, but that we may use that word for a more easie explication of our mind, according to that old trite Proverb, *Ἀμαθίσεσθ' ἢ πλεονέχεσθαι*, *Speak a little more unlearnedly that thou mayest speak more intelligibly or plainly*. But then we are to remember that we do not speak *properly*, though more *accommodately* to the vulgar apprehension, but *improperly*.

But now when the *Holenmerians* add further, That the whole Soul is in every part or Physical point of the Body *D, C, E*, in the point *A* and *B*, and all the rest of the points of which the Body *D, C, E*, does consist, that seems an harsh expression to me, and such as may justly be deemed next door to an open Repugnancy and Contradiction: For when they say the whole Soul is in the whole Body *D, C, E*, if they understand the Essence of the Soul to be commensurate, and as it were equal to the Body *D, C, E*, and yet at the same time, the whole Soul to be contained within the point *A* or *B*, it is manifest that they make one and the same thing many thousand times greater or less than it self at the same time; which is impossible. But if they will affirm, that the *essential Amplitude* of the Soul is no bigger than what is contained within the Physical point *A*, or *B*; but that the *Essential Presence* of the Soul is diffused through the whole Body *D, C, E*, the thing will succeed not a jot the better. For while they plainly profess that the whole Soul is in the point *A*, it is manifest that there remains nothing of

See Figure  
2. Sect. II.

of the Soul which may be in the point B, which is distant from A : For it is as if one should say, that there is nothing of the Soul which is not included within A ; and yet in the same moment of time, that not only something of the Soul, (which perhaps might be a more gentle Repugnancy) but that the whole Soul is in B, as if the *whole* Soul were *totally* and *entirely* out of it self; which surely is impossible in any *singular* or *individual* thing. And as for *Universals*, they are not *Things*, but *Notions* we use in contemplating them.

Again, if the *Essential Amplitude* of the Soul is no greater than what may be contained within the limits of a Physical point, it cannot extend or exhibit its *Essential Presence* through the whole Body, unless we imagine in it a stupendous velocity, such as it may be carried with in one moment into all the parts of the Body, and so be present to them : Which when it is so hard to conceive in this scant *compages* of an humane Body, and in the Soul occupying in one moment every part thereof, What an outrageous thing is it, and utterly impossible to apprehend touching that Spirit which perpetually exhibits his *Essential Presence* to the whole World, and whatever is beyond the World?

To which lastly, you may add, that this Hypothesis of the *Holenmerians*, does necessarily make all *Spirits* the most *minute* things that can be conceived : For if the whole Spirit be in every Physical point, it is plain, that the *Essential Amplitude* it self of the Spirit (which the two former Objections supposed) is not bigger than that Physical point in which it is, (which you may call, if you will, a *Physical Monad*) than which nothing is or can be smaller in universal Nature : which if you refer to any *created Spirit*, it cannot but seem very ridiculous ; but if to the *Majesty* and *Amplitude* of the *divine Numen*, intolerable, that I may not say plainly reproachful and blasphemous.

## S E C T. XIII.

*A Confutation of the first Reason of the Holenmerians.*

**B**UT now for the Reasons for which the *Holenmerians* adhere to so absurd an Opinion; verily they are such as can no way compensate those huge difficulties and repugnancies the Opinion it self labours under. For, for the first, which so solicitously provides for the *Indivisibility* of *Spirits*, it seems to me to undertake a charge either *Superfluous* or *Ineffectual*. *Superfluous*, if *Extension* can be without *Divisibility*, as it is clearly demonstrated it can, in that infinite immovable *Extension* distinct from the movable *Matter*. *Enchirid. Metaphys.* cap. 6, 7, 8. But *Ineffectual*, if all *Extension* be *divisible*, and the *Essential Presence* of a *Spirit* which pervades and is extended through the whole Body C, D, E, may for that very reason be *divided*; for so the whole *Essence* which occupies the whole Body C, D, E, will be divided into *parts*. No by no means, will you say, forasmuch as it is wholly in every part of the Body.

Therefore it will be divided, if I may so speak, into so many *Totalities*. But what Logical Ear can bear a saying so absurd and abhorrent from all reason, that a *Whole* should not be divided into *parts* but into *Wholes*? But you will say at least we shall have this granted us, that an *Essential Presence* may be distributed or divided according to so many distinctly sited *Totalities* which occupy at once the whole Body C, D, E, Yes verily, this shall be granted you, after you have demonstrated that a *Spirit* not bigger than a *Physical Monad* can occupy in the same instant all the parts of the Body C, D, E; but upon this condition, that you acknowledge not sundry *Totalities*, but one only *total Essence*, though the least that can be imagined, can occupy that whole space, and when there is need, occupy, in an instant, an infinite one: Which the *Holenmerians* must of necessity hold touching

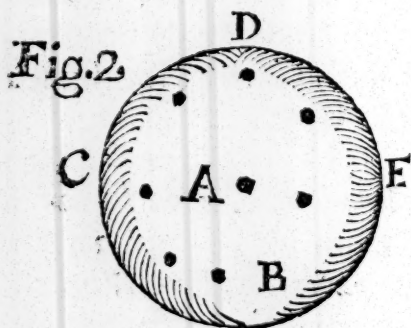


touching the Divine Essence, because according to their Opinion taken in the second fence, (which pinches the whole Essence of a Spirit into the smallest point) the Divine Essence it self is not bigger than any *Physical Monad*. From whence it is apparent the three Objections which we brought in the beginning, do again recur here, and utterly overwhelm the first reason of the *Holenmerians*: So that the remedy is far more intolerable than the disease.

#### SECT. XIV.

##### *A Confutation of the second Reason of the Holenmerians.*

**A**ND truly the other reason which from this *Holenmerism* of Spirits pretends a more easie way of



conceiving how it comes to pass that the Soul, suppose in A, can perceive what happens to it in C, or B, and altogether in the same circumstances as if it self were perfectly and entirely in C, or B, when yet it is in A; although at first shews this seems very plausible, yet if

we look thoroughly into it, we shall find it far enough from performing what it so fairly promises. For besides that nothing is more difficult, or rather impossible to conceive, than that an Essence not bigger than a Physical point, should occupy and possess the whole Body of a man at the same instant, this Hypothesis is moreover plainly contrary and repugnant to the very Laws of the Souls perceptions: For Physicians and Anatomists with one consent profess, that they have found by very solid Experiments, that the Soul perceives only within the

Head,

Head, and that without the Head there is no perception: Which could by no means be, if the Soul herself were wholly in the point A, and the very self-same Soul again wholly in the point B, and C, nor any where as to *Essential Amplitude* bigger than a *Physical Monad*: For hence it would follow, that one and the same thing would both perceive and not perceive at once; That it would perceive this or that Object, and yet perceive nothing at all; which is a perfect contradiction.

And from hence the falsity of that common saying is detected, That *if the Eye was in the Foot, the Soul would see in the Foot*; whenas it does not so much as see in those Eyes which it already hath, but somewhere within the Brain. Nor would the Soul by an Eye in the Foot see, unless by fitting Nerves, not unlike the Optick ones, continued from the Foot to the Head and Brain, where the Soul so far as *perceptive*, inhabiteth. In the other parts of the Body the Functions thereof are only *vital*.

Again, such is the nature of some perceptions of the Soul, that they are fitted for the moving of the Body; so that it is manifest, that the very self-same thing which perceives, has the power of moving and guiding of it; Which seems impossible to be done by this Soul, which, according to the Opinion of the *Holenmerians*, exceeds not the amplitude of a small Physical point, as it may appear at first sight to any one whose reason is not blinded with prejudice.

And lastly, If it be lawful for the Mind of Man to give her conjectures touching the Immortal *Genii*, (whether they be in Vehicles, or destitute of Vehicles) and touching their *Perceptions* and *Essential Presences*, whether invisible, or those in which they are said sometimes to appear to mortal men, there is none surely that can admit that any of these things are competent to such a Spirit as the *Holenmerians* describe. For how can a *Metaphysical Monad*, that is to say, a Spiritual substance not exceeding a Physical Monad in Amplitude, fill out an  
*Essential*

*Essential Presence* bigger than a Physical Monad, unless it be by a very swift vibration of itself towards all parts; as Boys by a very swift moving of a Fire-stick, make a fiery Circle in the air by that quick motion. But that Spirits, destitute of Vehicles, should have no greater *Essential Presence* than what is occupied of a naked and unmoved *Metaphysical Monad*, or exhibited thereby, seems so absonous and ridiculous a spectacle to the Mind of Man, that unless he be deprived of all sagacity and sensibility of spirit, he cannot but abhor so idle an Opinion.

And as for those *Essential Presences*, according to which they sometimes appear to men, at least equalizing humane stature, how can a solitary *Metaphysical Monad* form so great a part of Air or Æther into humane shape, or govern it being so formed? Or how can it perceive any external Object in this swift motion of it self, and quick vibration, whereby this *Metaphysical Monad* is understood of the *Holenmerians*, to be present in all the parts of its Vehicle at once? For there can be no perception of the external Object, unless the Object that is to be perceived act with some stay upon that which perceiveth. Nor if it could be perceived by this *Metaphysical Monad* thus swiftly moved and vibrated towards all parts at once, would it be seen in one place, but in many places at once, and those, as it may happen, very distant.

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## SECT. XV.

*The egregious falsity of the Opinions of the Holenmerians and Nullibists, as also their uselessness for any Philosophical ends.*

**B**UT verily, I am ashamed to waste so much time in refuting such meer trifles and dotages, which indeed are such, (that I mean of the *Nullibists*, as well as this other



other of the *Holenmerians*) that we may very well wonder how such distorted and strained conceits could ever enter into the minds of men, or by what artifice they have so spread themselves in the World; but that the prejudices and enchantments of Superstition and stupid admiration of mens Persons are so strong, that they may utterly blind the minds of men, and charm them into dotage. But if any one, all prejudice and parts-taking being laid aside, will attentively consider the thing as it is, he shall clearly perceive and acknowledge, unless all belief is to be denied to the humane faculties, that the Opinions of the *Nullibists* and *Holenmerians*, touching *Incorporeal Beings*, are miserably false; and not that only, but as to any Philosophical purpose altogether *useless*. Forasmuch as out of neither Hypothesis there does appear any greater facility of conceiving how the *Mind* of Man, or any other *Spirit*, performs those Functions of *Perception* and of *Moving* of *Bodies*, from their being supposed *nowhere*, than from their being supposed *somewhere*; or from supposing them *wholly in every part* of a Body, than from supposing them only, to occupy the whole Body by an *Essential* or *Metaphysical Extension*; but on the contrary, that both the Hypotheses do intangle and involve the Doctrine of *Incorporeal Beings* with greater Difficulties and Repugnancies.

Wherefore, there being neither *Truth* nor *Usefulness* in the Opinions of the *Holenmerians* and *Nullibists*, I hope it will offend no man if we send them quite packing from our Philosophations touching an *Incorporeal Being* or *Spirit*, in our delivering the true Idea or Notion thereof.

## SECT. XVI.

*That those that contend that the Notion of a Spirit is so difficult and imperscrutable, do not this because they are of a more sharp and piercing Judgment than others, but of a Genius more rude and plebeian.*

NOW I have so successfully removed and dissipated those two vast Mounds of Night and Mistiness, that lay upon the nature of *Incorporeal Beings*, and obscured it with such gross darkness; it remains that we open and illustrate the true and genuine nature of them in general, and propose such a definition of a *Spirit*, as will exhibit no difficulty to a mind rightly prepared and freed from prejudice: For the *nature* of a *Spirit* is very easily understood, provided one rightly and skilfully shew the way to the Learner, and form to him true *Notions* of the thing. Infomuch that I have often wondred at the superstitious consternation of mind in those men, (or the profaneness of their tempers and innate averſation from the contemplation of Divine things) who if by chance they hear any one professing that he can with sufficient clearness and distinctness conceive the nature of a *Spirit*, and communicate the Notion to others, they are presently astartled and amazed at the saying, and straightway accuse the man of intolerable levity or arrogancy, as thinking him to assume so much to himself, and to promise to others, as no humane Wit furnished with never so much knowledge, can ever perform. And this I understand even of such men who yet readily acknowledge the *Existence* of *Spirits*.

But as for those that deny their *Existence*, whoever professes this skill to them, verily he cannot but appear a man above all measure vain and doting. But I hope that I shall so bring it about, that no man shall appear more stupid and doting, no man more unskilful and ignorant, than he that esteems the clear Notion of a Spirit

Spirit so hopeless and desperate an attempt; and that I shall plainly detect, that this big and boastful profession of their ignorance in these things does not proceed from hence, that they have any thing more a sharp or discerning Judgment than other mortals, but that they have more gross and weak parts, and a shallower Wit, and such as comes nearest to the superstition and stupidity of the rude vulgar, who easilier fall into admiration and astonishment, than pierce into the reasons and notices of any difficult matter.

S E C T. XVII.

*The Definition of Body in general, with so clear an Explanation thereof, that even they that complain of the obscurity of a Spirit, cannot but confess they perfectly understand the nature of Body.*

**B**UT now for those that do thus despair of any true knowledge of the nature of a *Spirit*, I would entreat them to try the abilities of their wit in recognizing and throughly considering the nature of *Body* in general. And let them ingeniously tell me whether they cannot but acknowledge this to be a clear and perspicuous definition thereof, viz. That *Body is Substance Material, of it self altogether destitute of all Perception, Life, and Motion.* Or thus: *Body is a Substance Material coalescent or accruing together into one, by vertue of some other thing, from whence that one by coalition, has or may have Life also, Perception and Motion.*

I doubt not but they will readily answer, that they understand all this (as to the terms) clearly and perfectly; nor would they doubt of the truth thereof, but that we deprive *Body* of all *Motion* from it self, as also of *Union, Life, and Perception.* But that it is *Substance*, that is, a Being subsistent by it self, not a *mode* of some Being, they cannot but very willingly admit, and that

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also



also it is a *material* Substance compounded of *physical Monads*, or at least of most *minute particles* of Matter, into which it is divisible; and because of their *Impenetrability*, impenetrable by any other Body. So that the Essential and Positive difference of a *Body* is, that it be *impenetrable*, and *Physically divisible* into parts: But that it is *extended*, that immediately belongs to it as it is a *Being*. Nor is there any reason why they should doubt of the other part of the *Differentia*, whenas it is solidly and fully proved in Philosophy, That *Matter* of its own nature, or in it self, is endued with no *Perception*, *Life*, nor *Motion*. And besides, we are to remember that we here do not treat of the *Existence* of things, but of their intelligible *Notion* and *Essence*.

### S E C T. XVIII.

*The perfect Definition of a Spirit, with a full Explication of its Nature through all Degrees.*

**A**ND if the *Notion* or *Essence* is so easily understood in nature *Corporeal* or *Body*, I do not see but in the *Species* immediately opposite to *Body*, viz. *Spirit*, there may be found the same facility of being understood. Let us try therefore, and from the Law of *Opposites* let us define a *Spirit*, an *Immaterial Substance intrinsically endued with Life and the faculty of Motion*. This slender and brief Definition that thus easily flows without any noise, does comprehend in general the whole nature of a *Spirit*; Which lest by reason of its exility and brevity it may prove less perceptible to the Understanding, as a *Spirit* is to the sight, I will subjoyn a more full Explication, that it may appear to all, that this Definition of a *Spirit* is nothing inferiour to the Definition of a *Body* as to clearness and perspicuity. And that by this method which we now fall upon, a full and perfect knowledge and understanding of the nature of a *Spirit* may be attained to.

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Go to therefore, let us take notice through all the degrees of the *Definitum*, or *Thing defined*, what precise and immediate properties each of them contain, from whence at length a most distinct and perfect knowledge of the whole *Definitum* will discover it self. Let us begin then from the top of all, and first let us take notice that a Spirit is *Ens*, or a *Being*, and from this very same that it is a *Being* that it is also *One*, that it is *True*, and that it is *Good*; which are the three acknowledged Properties of *Ens* in Metaphysicks, that it exists *some-time*, and *somewhere*, and is in some sort *extended*, as is shewn *Enchirid. Metaphys.* cap. 2. sect. 10. which three latter terms are plain of themselves. And as for the three former, that *One* signifies undistinguished or undivided in and from it self, but divided or distinguished from all other, and that *True* denotes the answerableness of the *thing* to its own proper *Idea*, and implies right *Matter* and *Form* duely conjoyned, and that lastly *Good* respects the fitness for the end in a large sence, so that it will take in that saying of Theologers, That God is his own End, are things vulgarly known to *Logicians* and *Metaphysicians*. That these Six are the immediate affections of Being as Being, is made apparent in the above-cited *Enchiridion Metaphysicum*; nor is it requisite to repeat the same things here. Now every *Being* is either *Substance* or the *Mode* of *Substance*, which some call *Accident*: But that a *Spirit* is not an *Accident* or *Mode* of *Substance*, all in a manner profess; and it is demonstrable from manifold Arguments, that there are *Spirits* which are no such *Accidents* or *Modes*; Which is made good in the said *Enchiridion* and other Treatises of Doctor *H. M.*

Wherefore the second Essential degree of a Spirit is, that it is *Substance*. From whence it is understood to subsist by it self, nor to want any other thing as a *Subject* (in which it may inhere, or of which it may be the *Mode* or *Accident*) for its subsisting or existing.

The third and last Essential degree is, that it is *Im-*

*material*, according to which it immediately belongs to it, that it be a *Being* not only *One*, but *one by it self*, or of its own intimate nature, and not by another; that is, That, though as it is a *Being* it is in some sort *extended*, yet it is utterly *Indivisible* and *Indiscernible* into real Physical parts. And moreover, That it can *penetrate* the *Matter*, and (which the *Matter* cannot do) penetrate things of its own kind; that is, pass through Spiritual Substances. In which two Essential Attributes (as it ought to be in every perfect and legitimate Distribution of any Genus) it is fully and accurately contrary to its opposite *Species*, namely, to *Body*. As also in those immediate Properties whereby it is understood to have *Life* intrinsically in *it self*, and the faculty of *moving*; which in some sense is true in all Spirits whatsoever, forasmuch as *Life* is either *Vegetative*, *Sensitive*, or *Intellectual*. One whereof at least every Spiritual Substance hath: as also the *faculty of moving*; insomuch that every Spirit either moves it self by it self, or the Matter, or both, or at least the Matter either mediately or immediately; or lastly, both ways. For so all things moved are moved by God, he being the Fountain of all Life and Motion.

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## SECT. XIX.

*That from hence that the Definition of a Body is perspicuous, the Definition of a Spirit is also necessarily perspicuous.*

**W**Herefore I dare here appeal to the Judgment and Conscience of any one that is not altogether illiterate and of a dull and obtuse Wit, whether this *Notion* or Definition of a *Spirit* in general, is not as intelligible and perspicuous, is not as clear and every way distinct as the Idea or *Notion* of a *Body*, or of any thing else whatsoever which the mind of Man can contemplate



template in the whole compass of Nature. And whether he cannot as easily, or rather with the same pains, apprehend the nature of a *Spirit* as of *Body*, forasmuch as they both agree in the immediate Genus to them, to wit *Substance*. And the *Differentia* do illustrate one another by their mutual opposition; insomuch that it is impossible that one should understand what is *Material Substance*, but he must therewith presently understand what *Immaterial Substance* is, or what it is *not* to have *Life* and *Motion* of it self, but he must straitway perceive what it is *to have both in it self*, or to be able to communicate them to others.

## SECT. XX.

*Four Objections which from the perspicuity of the terms of the Definition of a SPIRIT infer the Repugnancy of them one to another.*

**N**O R can I divine what may be here opposed, unless haply they may alledge such things as these, That although they cannot deny but that all the *terms* of the *Definition* and *Explication* of them, are sufficiently intelligible, if they be considered single, yet if they be compared one with another they will mutually destroy one another. For this *Extension* which is mingled with, or inserted into the nature of a *Spirit*, seems to take away the *Penetrability* and *Indivisibility* thereof, as also its *faculty of thinking*, as its *Penetrability* likewise takes away its power of *moving any Bodies*.

I. First, *Extension* takes away *Penetrability*; because if one *Extension* penetrate another, of necessity either one of them is destroyed, or two equal *Amplitudes* entirely penetrating one another, are no bigger than either one of them taken single, because they are closed within the same limits.

II. Secondly, It takes away *Indivisibility*; because whatsoever is *extended* has *partes extra partes*, one part out of another, and therefore is *Divisible*: For neither would it have parts, unless it could be divided into them. To which you may further add, that forasmuch as the parts are *substantial*, nor depend one of another, it is clearly manifest, that at least by the Divine Power they may be separate, and subsist separate one from another.

III. Thirdly, *Extension* deprives a *Spirit* of the faculty of *thinking*, as depressing it down into the same order that Bodies are. And that there is no reason why an *extended Spirit* should be more capable of *Perception* than *Matter* that is *extended*.

IV. Lastly, *Penetrability* renders a *Spirit* unable to *move Matter*; because, whenas by reason of this *Penetrability* it so easily slides through the *Matter*, it cannot conveniently be united with the *Matter* whereby it may move the same: For without some union or inherency (a *Spirit* being destitute of all *Impenetrability*) 'tis impossible it should protrude the *Matter* towards any place.

The sum of which Four difficulties tends to this, that we may understand, that though this Idea or *Notion* of a *Spirit* which we have exhibited, be sufficiently plain and explicate, and may be easily understood; yet from the very perspicuity of the thing it self, it abundantly appears, that it is not the Idea of any *possible* thing, and much less of a thing *really existing*, whenas the parts thereof are so manifestly repugnant one to another.

John Hardmoat 1693

Sarah  
Gindor

SECT.

Elizabeth Hardmoat

## S E C T. XXI.

*An Answer to the first of the Four Objections.*

I. **B**UT against as well the *Nullibists* as the *Hobbi-ans*, who both of them contend, that *Extension* and *Matter* is one and the same thing, we will prove, that the Notion or Idea of a *Spirit* which we have produced, is a Notion of a thing *possible*. And as for the *Nullibists*, who think we so much indulge to corporeal Imagination in this our Opinion of the *Extension* of Spirits, I hope on the contrary, that I shall shew, that it is only from hence, that the *Hobbi-ans* and *Nullibists* have taken all *Amplitude* from *Spirits*, because their Imagination is not sufficiently defecated and depurated from the filth and unclean tinctures of *Corporeity*, or rather that they have their Mind over-much addicted and enslaved to *Material* things, and so disordered, that she knows not how to expedite her self from gross Corporeal Phantasms.

From which Fountain have sprung all those difficulties whereby they endeavour to overwhelm this our *Notion* of a *Spirit*; as we shall manifestly demonstrate by going through them all, and carefully perpending each of them. For it is to be imputed to their gross Imagination, That from hence that two equal Amplitudes penetrate one another throughout, they conclude that either one of them must therewith perish, or that they being both conjoined together, are no bigger than either one of them taken single. For this comes from hence, that their mind is so illaqueated or lime-twigged, as it were, with the Idea's and Properties of corporeal things, that they cannot but infect those things also which have nothing corporeal in them with this material Tincture and Contagion, and so altogether confound this *Metaphysical* Extension with that Extension which is *Physical*. I say, from this *disease* it is that



the sight of their mind is become so dull and obtuse, that they are not able to divide that common Attribute of a being, I mean *Extension Metaphysical* from *special Extension* and *Material*, and assign to *Spirits* their proper *Extension*, and leave to *Matter* hers. Nor according to that known method, whether *Logical* or *Metaphysical*, by intellectual *Abstraction* prescind the *Generic* nature of *Extension* from the abovesaid *Species* or kinds thereof. Nor lastly, (which is another sign of their obtuseness and dulness) is their mind able to *penetrate* with that *Spiritual Extension* into the *Extension Material*; but like a stupid Beast stands lowing without, as if the mind it self were become wholly corporeal; and if any thing enter they believe it perishes rather and is annihilated, than that two things can at the same time co-exist together in the same *Ubi*. Which are Symptoms of a mind desperately sick of this Corporeal Malady of *Imagination*, and not sufficiently accustomed or exercised in the free Operations of the Intellectual Powers.

And that also proceeds from the same source, That supposing two *Extensions* penetrating one another, and adequately occupying the same *Ubi*, they thus conjoined are conceived not to be greater than either one of them taken by it self. For the reason of this mistake is, that the *Mind* incrassated and swayed down by the *Imagination*, cannot together with the *Spiritual Extension* penetrate into the *Material*, and follow it throughout, but only places it self hard by, and stands without like a gross stupid thing, and altogether Corporeal. For if she could but, with the *Spiritual Extension*, insinuate her self into the *Material*, and so conceive them both together as two really distinct *Extensions*, it is impossible but that she should therewith conceive them so conjoined into one *Ubi*, to be notwithstanding not a jot less than when they are separated and occupy an *Ubi* as big again: For the *Extension* in neither of them is diminished, but their *Situation* only changed. As it also sometimes comes

comes to pass in one and the same Extension of some particular Spirits which can dilate and contract their Amplitude into a greater or lesser *Ubi*, without any Augmentation or Diminution of their Extension, but only by the expansion and contraction of it into another site.

## SECT. XXII.

*That besides those THREE Dimensions which belong to all extended things, a FOURTH also is to be admitted, which belongs properly to SPIRITS.*

**A**ND that I may not dissemble or conceal any thing, Although all *Material* things, considered in themselves, have *three* Dimensions only; yet there must be admitted in Nature a *Fourth*, which fitly enough, I think, may be called *Essential Spissitude*; Which, though it most properly appertains to those Spirits which can contract their Extension into a less *Ubi*; yet by an easie Analogy it may be referred also to Spirits penetrating as well the *Matter* as mutually *one another*: So that wherever there are more Essences than one, or more of the same Essence in the same *Ubi* than is adequate to the Amplitude thereof, there this *Fourth* Dimension is to be acknowledged, which we call *Essential Spissitude*.

Which assuredly involves no greater repugnancy than what may seem at first view, to him that considers the thing less attentively, to be in the other *three* Dimensions. Namely, unless one would conceive that a piece of Wax stretched out, suppose, to the length of an Ell, and afterwards rolled together into the form of a Globe, loses something of its former Extension, by this its conglobation, he must confess that a Spirit, neither by the contraction of it self into a less space, has lost any thing of its Extension or Essence, but as in the above-  
said

said Wax the diminution of its Longitude is compensated with the augmentation of its Latitude and Profundity; so in a Spirit contracting it self, that in like manner its Longitude, Latitude, and Profundity being lessened, are compensated by *Essential Spissitude*, which the Spirit acquires by this contraction of it self.

And in both cases we are to remember that the *Site* is only changed, but that the *essence* and *extension* are not at all impaired.

Verily these things by me are so perfectly every way perceived, so certain and tried, that I dare appeal to the mind of any one which is free from the morbid prejudices of *Imagination*, and challenge him to try the strength of his Intellectuals, whether he does not clearly perceive the thing to be so as I have defined, and that *two* equal Extensions, adequately occupying the very same *Ubi*, be not *twice* as great as either of them alone, and that they are not closed with the same terms as the *Imagination* falsely suggests, but only with equal.

Nor is there any need to heap up more words for the solving this first difficulty; whenas what has been briefly said already abundantly sufficeth for the penetrating their understanding who are prepossessed with no prejudice: But for the piercing of theirs who are blinded with prejudices, infinite will not suffice.

### S E C T. XXIII.

*An Answer to the second Objection, where the fundamental Error of the Nullibists, viz. That whatsoever is extended is the Object of Imagination, is taken notice of.*

II. **L** E T us now try if we can dispatch the second difficulty with like success, and see if it be not wholly to be ascribed to *Imagination*, that an *Indiscerpible extension* seems to involve in it any contradiction. As if there could be no Extension which has not parts real  
and



and properly so called into which it may be actually divided, *viz.* for this reason, that that only is *extended* which has *partes extra partes*, which being *substantial*, may be separated one from another, and thus separate subsist. This is the summary account of this difficulty, which nothing but corrupt *imagination* supporteth.

Now the first source or fountain of this error of the *Nullibists*, is this; That they make every thing that is *extended* the Object of the *Imagination*, and every Object of the *Imagination Corporeal*. The latter whereof undoubtedly is true, if it be taken in a right sense; namely, if they understand such a perception as is either simply and adequately drawn from external Objects; or by increasing, diminishing, transposing, or transforming of parts (as in *Chimera's* and *Hippocentaurs*) is composed of the same. I acknowledge all these Ideas, as they were sometime some way Objects of *Sensation*, so to be the genuine Objects of *Imagination*, and the perception of these to be rightly termed the operation of *Fancy*, and that all these things that are thus represented, necessarily are to be look'd upon as *corporeal*, and consequently as *actually divisible*.

But that all perception of *Extension* is such *Imagination*, that I confidently deny. Forasmuch as there is an Idea of *infinite extension* drawn or taken in from no external sense, but is natural and essential to the very faculty of perceiving; Which the mind can by no means pluck out of her self, nor cast it away from her; but if she will rouse her self up, and by earnest and attentive thinking, fix her animadversion thereon, she will be constrained, whether she will or no, to acknowledge, that although the whole matter of the World were exterminated out of the Universe, there would notwithstanding remain a certain subtle and *immaterial extension* which has no agreement with that other *Material* one, in any thing, saving that it is extended, as being such that it neither falls under sense, nor is impenetrable, nor can be moved, nor discerped into parts; and that  
this

this Idea is not only possible, but necessary, and such as we do not at our pleasure feign and invent, but do find it to be so innate and ingrafted in our mind, that we cannot by any force or artifice remove it thence. Which is a most certain demonstration that all *Perception* of *Extension* is not *Imagination* properly so called.

Which in my Opinion ought to be esteemed one of the chiefest and most fundamental Errours of the *Nullibists*, and to which especially this difficulty is to be referred touching an *Indiscerpible Extension*. For we see they confess their own guilt, namely, that their *Mind* is so corrupted by their *Imagination*, and so immersed into it, that they can use no other faculty in the contemplation of any extended thing. And therefore when they make use of their *Imagination* instead of their *Intellect* in contemplating of it, they necessarily look upon it as an Object of *Imagination*; that is, as a corporeal thing, and *discerpible* into parts. For as I noted above, the sight of their mind by reason of this *Morbis ulcers*, this *materious Disease*, if I may so speak, is made so heavy and dull, that it cannot distinguish any *Extension* from that of *Matter*, as allowing it to appertain to another kind, nor by *Logical* or *Metaphysical* Abstraction pre-  
scind it from either.

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## SECT. XXIV.

*That Extension as such includes in it neither Divisibility nor Impenetrability, neither Indivisibility nor Penetrability, but is indifferent to either two of those properties.*

AND from hence it is that because a thing is extended, they presently imagine that it has *partes extra partes*, and is not *Ens unum per se & non per aliud*, a Being one by it self, and not by vertue of another, but so framed from the juxtapositions of parts. Whenas the Idea of *Extension* precisely considered in it self includes

cludes no such thing, but only a *trinal* Distance or *solid* Amplitude, that is to say, not *linear* only and *superficiary*, (if we may here use those terms which properly belong to magnitude Mathematical) but every way running out and reaching towards every part. This Amplitude surely, and nothing beside, does this bare and simple *Extension* include, not *Penetrability* nor *Impenetrability*, nor *Divisibility*, nor yet *Indivisibility*, but to either affections or properties, or if you will Essential Differences, namely, to *Divisibility* and *Impenetrability*, or to *Penetrability* and *Indivisibility*, if considered in it self, it is altogether indifferent, and may be determined to either two of them.

Wherefore, whereas we acknowledge that there is a certain *Extension* namely *Material*, which is endued with so stout and invincible an *Ἀπαισιότητα* or *Impenetrability*, that it necessarily and by an insuperable Renitency expels and excludes all other Matter that occurs and attempts to penetrate it, nor suffers it at all to enter, although in the simple Idea of Extension, this marvellous virtue of it is not contained, but plainly omitted, as not at all belonging thereto immediately and of it self; why may we not as easily conceive that another Extension, namely, an *Immaterial* one, though Extension in it self include no such thing, is of such a nature, that it cannot by any other thing, whether Material or Immaterial, be discerped into parts; but by an indissoluble, necessary and essential Tie, be so united and held together with it self, that although it can penetrate all things, and be penetrated by all things, yet nothing can so insinuate it self into it as to disjoyn any thing of its Essence any where, or perforate it, or make any hole or Pore in it? that is, that I may speak briefly, What hinders but there may be a *Being* that is immediately *One* of its own nature, and not held together into one by vertue of some other, either *Quality* or *Substance*? although every Being as a Being is *extended*, because Extension in its precise Notion does not include any *Physical Division*,  
but



but the Mind infected with *corporeal Imagination*, does falsely and unskilfully feign it to be necessarily there.

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## SECT. XXV.

*That every thing that is extended has not parts Physically discernible, though Logically or Intellectually divisible.*

FOR it is nothing which the *Nullibists* here alledge, while they say, That all Extension inferreth parts, and all parts Division. For besides that the first is false, forasmuch as *Ens unum per se*, a Being one of it self, or of its own immediate nature, although *extended* yet includes no *parts* in its Idea, but is conceived according to its proper Essence as a thing as simple as may be, and therefore compounded of no parts: We answer moreover, that it is not at all prejudicial to our cause though we should grant that this *Metaphysical* Extension of Spirits is also divisible, but *Logically* only, not *Physically*, that is to say, is not *discernible*. But that one should adjoin a *Physical divisibility* to such an Extension, surely that must necessarily proceed from the impotency of his *Imagination*, which his Mind cannot curb, nor separate her self from the dregs and corporeal foulnesses thereof; and hence it is that she tinctures and infects this pure and Spiritual Extension with Corporeal Properties. But that an extended thing may be divided *Logically* or *Intellectually*, when in the mean time it can by no means be *discerped*, it sufficiently appears from hence, That a *Physical Monad* which has some Amplitude, though the least that possible can be, is conceived thus to be divided in a *Line* consisting of any uneven number of Monads, which notwithstanding the Intellect divides into two equal parts. And verily in a *Metaphysical Monad*, such as the *Holenmerians* conceit the Mind of Man to be, and to possess in the mean time and occupy the whole *Body*, there may be here again made a *Logical Distribution*,  
suppose,

suppose, *è subjectis*, as they call it, so far forth as this *Metaphysical Monad*, or *Soul* of the *Holenmerians* is conceived to possess the Head, or Trunk, or Limbs of the Body. And yet no man is so delirant as to think that it follows from thence, that such a Soul may be *discerped* into so many parts, and that the parts so discerped may subsist by themselves.

## SECT. XXVI.

*An Answer to the latter part of the second Objection, which inferreth the separability of the parts of a Substantial Extensum, from the said parts being Substantial and independent one of another.*

FROM which a sufficiently fit and accommodate Answer may be fetched to the latter part of this difficulty, namely, to that, which because the parts of Substance are *Substantial* and *independent* one of another, and *subsisting by themselves* (as being *Substances*) would infer that they can be *discerped*, at least by the Divine Power, and disjoined, and being so disjoined, subsist by themselves. Which I confess to be the chief edge or sting of the whole difficulty, and yet such as I hope I shall with ease file off or blunt. For first, I deny that in a thing that is *absolutely One* and *Simple* as a Spirit is, there are any *Physical* parts, or parts properly so called, but that they are only falsely feigned and fancied in it, by the impure Imagination. But that the Mind it self being sufficiently defecated and purged from the impure dreggs of fancy, although from some extrinsecal respect she may consider a Spirit as having parts, yet at the very same time does she in her self, with close attention, observe and note, that *such an Extension* of it self has none. And therefore whenas it has no parts it is plain it has no *substantial* parts, nor *independent* one of another, nor subsistent of themselves.

And

And then as much as concerns those parts which the stupid and impotent *Imagination* fancieth in a Spirit, it does not follow from thence, because they are *Substantial*, that they may *subsist separate* by themselves. For a thing to *subsist by it self*, only signifies so to subsist, that it wants not the Prop of some other *Subject* in which it may inhere as *Accidents* do. So that the parts of a *Spirit* may be said to subsist by themselves, though they cannot subsist separate, and so be substance still.

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## S E C T. XXVII.

*That the mutual Independency of the parts of an extended Substance may be understood in a twofold sence; with an Answer thereto, taken in the first sence thereof.*

**B**UT what they mean by that *mutual Independency* of parts I do not fully understand: But I sufficiently conceive that one of these two things must be hinted thereby, *viz.* Either that they are not *mutual* and effectual *causes* to one another of their *Existing*, or that their *Existence* is understood to be connected by *no necessary condition* at all.

And as for the former sence, I willingly confess those parts which they fancy in a Spirit, are not mutual causes of one anothers *Existence*; but so, that in the mean time I do most firmly deny, that it will thence follow that they may be discerped, and thus discript, be separately conserved, no more than the *Intelligible* parts of a *Physical Monad* which is divided into two by our Reason or Intellect; which surely are no mutual causes of one anothers *Existence* or the Members of the Distribution of a *Metaphysical Monad*, according to the Doctrine of the *Holenmerians* (*viz.* The Soul totally being in every part of the Body) which no man in his wits can ever hope that they may be discerped, although the said Members of the division are not the mutual causes  
of



of one anothers Existence : For they are but one and the same Soul which is not the cause of it self, but was wholly and entirely caused by God.

But you will say that there is here manifestly a reason extant and apparent why these Members of the Distribution cannot be discerped, and discerpt separately conserved, because one and the same indivisible Monad occurs in every Member of the Distribution, which therefore since it is a single one, it is impossible it should be discerped from it self. To which I on the other side answer, That it is as manifestly extant and apparent how frivolously therefore and ineptly Arguments are drawn from *Logical* or Intellectual Divisions, for the concluding a real separability of parts. And I add further, That as that fictitious *Metaphysical Monad* cannot be discerped or pluckt in pieces from it self, no more can any real Spirit, because it is a thing *most simple* and *most absolutely One*, and which a *pure Mind* darkened and possessed with no prejudices of *Imagination* does acknowledge no *real* parts at all to be in. For so it would *ipso facto* be a *compound* Thing.

## SECT. XXVIII.

*An Answer to the Independency of parts taken in the second sence.*

FROM whence an easie entrance is made to the answering this difficulty understood in the second sence of the *mutual Independency* of the parts of a Spirit, whereby their co-existence and union are understood to be connected by *no necessary Law* or Condition. For that this is false, I do most constantly affirm without all demur: For the co-existences of the parts, as they call them, of a Spirit, are connected by a Law or Condition *absolutely necessary* and plainly *essential*; Forasmuch as a Spirit is a *most simple* Being, or a Being *unum per se* &

M

non

*non per aliud*; that is, one of it self or of its own nature immediately so, and not by another either *Substance* or *Quality*. For none of those parts, as the *Nullibists* call them, can exist but upon this condition, that all jointly and unitedly exist together; which Condition or Law is contained in the very Idea or nature of every *Spirit*. Whence it cannot be created or any way produced unless upon this condition, that all its parts be inseparably and indiscerpibly one; as neither a *Rectangle Triangle*, unless upon this condition, that the powers of the *Cathetus* and *Basiss*, be equal to the power of the *Hypotenu-sa*. Whence the *Indiscerpibility* of a *Spirit* cannot be removed from it, no not *virtute Divina*, as the Schoolmen speak, no more than the above-said Property be disjoined from a *Rectangle Triangle*. Out of all which I hope it is at length abundantly clear, that the *Extension* of a *Spirit* does not at all hinder the *Indiscerpibility* thereof.

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## SECT. XXIX.

*An Answer to the third Objection touching the Imperceptivity of an extended Substance, viz. That whatever is, is extended, and that the NULLIBISTS and HOLENMERIANS themselves cannot give a Reason of the perceptive Faculty in Spirits, from their Hypotheses.*

III. **N**OR is it any lett (which is the third thing) to the faculty of *Perceiving* and *Thinking* in *Spirits*: For we do not thrust down a *Spirit* by attributing *Extension* to it, into the rank of *Corporeal Beings*, forasmuch as there is nothing in all Nature which is not in some sense *extended*. For whatever of *Essence* there is in any thing, it either is or may be actually present to some part of the matter, and therefore it must either be *extended* or be contracted to the narrowness of a *point*,  
and

and be a meer *nothing*. For, as for the *Nullibists* and *Holenmerians*, the Opinions of them both are above utterly routed by me, and quite subverted and overturned from the very root, that no man may seek subterfuges and lurking holes there. Wherefore there is a necessity that something that is *extended* have *Cogitation* and *Perception* in it, or else there will be nothing left that has.

But for that which this Objection further urges, that there occurs no reason why an *extended Spirit* should be more capable of Perception than *extended Matter*, it is verily, in my judgment, a very unlearned and unskilful argutation. For we do not take all this pains in demonstrating the *Extension* of a *Spirit*, that thence we might fetch out a reason or account of its faculty of perceiving, but that it may be conceived to be some real Being and true Substance, and not a vain Figment, such as is every thing that has no Amplitude and is in no sort *extended*.

But those that so stickle and sweat for the proving their Opinion, that a Spirit is *nowhere*, or is *totally* in every part of that *Ubi* it occupies, they are plainly engaged of all right, clearly and distinctly to render a reason out of their *Hypothesis* of the *Perceptive faculty* that is acknowledged in *Spirits*, Namely, that they plainly and precisely deduce from hence, because a thing is *nowhere*, or *totally* in every part of the *Ubi* it occupies, that it is necessarily endued with a faculty of *perceiving* and *thinking*; so that the reason of the conjunction of *properties* with the *Subject*, may be clearly thence understood.

Which notwithstanding I am very confident, they can never perform; And that *Perception* and *Cogitation* are the *immediate* Attributes of some Substance; and that therefore, as that Rule of Prudence, *Enchirid. Ethic. lib. 3. cap. 4. sect. 3.* declares, no Physical reason thereof ought to be required, nor can be given, why they are in the Subject wherein they are found.



## S E C T. XXX.

*That from the Generical nature of any Species, no reason is to be fetcht of the conjunction of the Essential Difference with it, it being immediate.*

**B**UT so we are to conclude, that as *Substance* is immediately divided into *Material* and *Immaterial*, or into *Body* and *Spirit*, where no reason can be rendred from the Substance in *Spirit*, as it is Substance, why it should be *Spirit* rather than *Body*; nor from Substance in a *Body*, as it is Substance, why it should be *Body* rather than *Spirit*; But these *Essential Differences* are immediately in the Subject in which they are found: So the case stands in the subdivision of *Spirit* into meerly *Plastical* and *Perceptive*, supposing there are Spirits that are meerly *Plastical*; and then of a *Perceptive Spirit* into meerly *Sensitive* and *Intellectual*. For there can be no reason rendred touching a *Spirit* as a Spirit in a Spirit meerly *Plastical*, why it is a Spirit meerly *Plastical* rather than *Perceptive*: Nor in a *Perceptive Spirit*, why it is a *Perceptive Spirit* rather than meerly *Plastical*. And lastly, in a *Perceptive Spirit Intellectual*, why it is *Intellectual* rather than meerly *Sensitive*; and in the meerly *Sensitive Spirit*, why it is such rather than *Intellectual*. But these *Essential Differences* are immediately in the Subjects in which they are found, and any Physical and intrinsical reason ought not to be asked, nor can be given why they are in those Subjects, as I noted a little above out of the said *Enchiridion Ethicum*.

## S E C T. XXXI.

That although the *Holenmerians* and *Nullibists* can give no reason, why that which perceives should be **TOTALLY** in every part or should be **NOWHERE** rather than be in any sort extended or somewhere, yet there are reasons obvious enough, why an extended Spirit, rather should perceive than extended Matter.

**B**UT however, though we cannot render a reason why this or that *Substance* as Substance, be a *Spirit* rather than *Body*; or why this or that *Spirit* be *Perceptive* rather than merely *Plastical*; yet as the reason is sufficiently plain, why *Matter* or *Body* is a *Substance* rather than *Accident*, so it is manifest enough why that which *Perceives*, or is *Plastical*, should be a *Spirit* rather than *Matter* or *Body*; which surely is much more than either the *Holenmerians* or *Nullibists* can vaunt of. For they can offer no reason why that which perceives should rather be *nowhere* than somewhere; or *totally* in each part of the *Ubi* it does occupy, than otherwise, as may be understood from what we have said above.

But now since the *Matter* or *Body* which is *discerpible* and *Impenetrable* is destitute of it self of all Life and Motion, certainly it is consonant to reason, that the *Species* opposite to *Body*, and which is conceived to be *Penetrable* and *Indiscerpible*, should be intrinsically endued with Life in general and Motion. And whenas *Matter* is nothing else than a certain stupid and loose congeries of *Physical Monads*, that the first and most immediate opposite degree in this *indiscerpible* and *penetrable* Substance, which is called *Spirit*, should be the faculty of Union, Motion, and Life, in which all the *Sympathies* and *Synenergies* which are found in the World may be conceived to consist. From whence it ought not at all to seem strange, that that which is *Plastical* should be a Spirit.

And now as for *Perception* it self, undoubtedly all Mortals have either a certain confused presage, or more precise and determinate Notion, that as that, whatever it is in which the abovesaid *Sympathies* and *Synenergies* immediately are, so more especially that to which belongs the faculty of *Perceiving* and *Thinking* is a thing of all things the most *subtile* and most *One* that may be.

Wherefore I appeal here to the Mind and judgment of any one, whether he can truly conceive any thing more *Subtile* or more *One* than the *Essence* or Notion of a *Spirit* as it is immediately distinguished from *Matter*, and opposed thereto. For can there be any thing more *One* than what has no parts, into which it may be discerped? or more *Subtile* than what does not only penetrate *Matter*, but *it self*, or at least other Substances of its own kind? For a Spirit can penetrate a Spirit, though Matter cannot penetrate Matter.

There is therefore in the very *Essence* of a *Spirit*, although it be *Metaphysically* extended, no obscure reason why all the *Sympathies* and *Synenergies*, why all *Perceptions* and all manner of *Cogitations* should be referred rather to it, by reason of the *Unity* and *Subtily* of its nature, than to *Matter*, which is so crass, that it is *impenetrable*; and is so far from *unity* of *Essence*, that it consists of *juxta-posit*ed parts. But I hope by this I have abundantly satisfied this third difficulty.

## SECT. XXXII.

*An Answer to the fourth Objection as much as respects the HOLENMERIANS and NULLIBISTS, and all those that acknowledge that the Matter is created of God.*

IV. **L**ET us go on therefore to the Fourth and last, which from the *Penetrability* of a *Spirit* concludes its unfitness for moving of Matter. For it cannot move



move Matter, but by impelling it; nor can it impel it, because it does so easily, without all resistance, *penetrate* it. Here therefore again, *Imagination* plays her tricks, and measures the nature of a *Spirit* by the Laws of Matter, fancying a *Spirit* like some *Body* passing through an over-large or wide hole, where it cannot stick by reason of the laxness of the passage.

But in the mean time, it is to be noted, that neither the *Holenmerians* nor *Nullibists* can of right object this difficulty to us, whenas it is much more incredible, that either a *Metaphysical Monad*, or any *Essence* that is *no where*, should be more fit for the moving Matter, than that which has some Amplitude, and is present also to the Matter that is to be moved. Wherefore we have now only to do with such Philosophers as contend that the whole Universe consists of Bodies only: For as for those that acknowledge there is a God, and that Matter was created by him, it is not hard for them to conceive, that there may be a certain faculty in the Soul, which in some manner, though very shadowishly answers to that Power in God of creating Matter; Namely, that as God, though the most pure of all Spirits, yet creates Matter the most gross of all things; so created Spirits themselves may emit a certain *Material Virtue*, either spontaneously or naturally, by which they may intimately inhere in the Subject Matter, and be sufficiently close united therewith. Which faculty of Spirits in the *Appendix to the Antidote against Atheism*, is called *υλοπάθεια*, the *Hylopathy* of Spirits, or a Power of affecting or being affected by the Matter. But I confess that Answer is less fitly used when we have to do with those who deny the Creation of Matter, and much more when with those that deny there is a God.

## SECT. XXXIII.

*An Answer to those that think there is nothing in the Universe but Matter or Body.*

**W**Herefore, whenas we have to do with such infinite Adversaries, and so much estranged from all knowledge and acknowledgment of *Incorporeal Things*, verily we ought to behave our selves very cautiously and circumspectly, and something more precisely to consider the Title of the Question, which is not, Whether we can accurately discern and declare the mode or way that a Spirit moves Matter, but whether its *Penetrability* is repugnant with this faculty of *moving Matter*. But now it is manifest, if a Spirit could be united, and as it were cohere with the Matter, that it might easily move Matter; forasmuch as if there be at all any such thing as a Spirit, it is according to the common Opinion of all men to be acknowledged the true Principle and Fountain of all Life and Motion. Wherefore the hinge of the whole controversie turns upon this one pin, Whether it be repugnant that any Spirit should be *united* and as it were *cohere* with *Matter*, or by whatever firmness or fastening (whether permanent or momentaneous) be joined therewith.

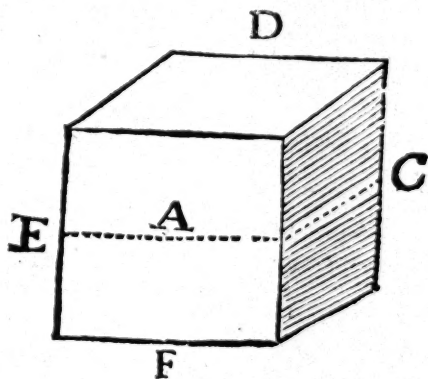
Now that it is not repugnant, I hope I shall clearly demonstrate from hence, that the *union* of Spirit with *Matter*, is as intelligible as the *union* of one part of *Matter* with *another*. For that ought in reason to be held an Axiome firm and sure, *That that is possible to be, in which there is found no greater (not to say less) difficulty of so being, than in that which we really find to be.* But we see one part of Matter really and actually united with another, and that in some Bodies with a firmness almost invincible, as in some Stones and Metals, which are held to be the hardest of all Bodies. But we will for the more fully understanding the business, suppose a  
*Body*

Body absolutely and perfectly *hard*, constituted of no Particles, but the very *Physical Monads* themselves, and without all pores.

I ask therefore here, By what vertue, or by what manner of way do the parts of so perfect a *Solid* cohere? Undoubtedly they can alledge nothing here besides immediate *contact* and *rest*: For if they fly to any other affections which are allied to Life and Sense, they are more rightly and more easily understood to be in a *Spirit* than in *Matter*; and we will presently pronounce that a *Spirit* may adhere to Matter by the same vertues.

But that the *parts* of *Matter* cohere by bare though immediate contact, seems as difficult, if not more difficult, than that a *Spirit* penetrating *Matter* should cleave together into one with it: For the contact of the parts of Matter is every where only superficial, but one and the same *indiscerpible Spirit* penetrates and possesses the whole Matter at once.

Nor need we fear at all, that it will not inhere because it can so easily slide in, and therefore as it may seem, slide through, and pass away.



For in a Body perfectly solid, suppose A, in which we will conceive some particular Superficies, suppose E, A, C; this Superficies E, A, C, is assuredly so glib and smooth, that there can be nothing imagined more smooth and glib: Wherefore why does not the upper part of this solid Cube C, D, E, by any the slightest impulse  
slide



slide upon the inferiour part of the Cube E, F, C, especially if the inferiour part E, F, C, be held fast, while the superior is impelled or thrust forward? Surely this easiness of the sliding of Bodies perfectly smooth and glib, which touch immediately one another, their easiness, I say, of sliding one upon another, does seem at least as necessary to our *Imagination*, as the proclivity of the passing of a Spirit through the Bodies it penetrates. Wherefore if two parts of Matter, suppose E, D, C, and E, F, C, which our *Imagination* doth most urgently suggest to us that they will always with the least impulse slide one upon another, do yet notwithstanding adhere to one another with a most firm and almost invincible union, why may not then a Spirit, which our *Imagination* suspects will so easily pass through any Body, be united to a Body with equal firmness? whenas this is not more difficult than the other, yea rather much more easie if one would consider the thing as it is, laying aside all prejudice. But now since the *Penetrability* of a Spirit is not repugnant with its *union* with *Matter*, it is manifest, that its faculty of *moving Body* is not at all repugnant with its *Penetrability*. Which is the thing that was to be demonstrated.

But it half repents me that I have with so great preparation and pomp attacked so small a difficulty, and have striven so long with meer Elusions and prestigious Juggles of the *Imagination*, (which casts such a Mist of fictitious Repugnancies on the true Idea of a Spirit) as with so many Phantomes and Spectres of an unquiet Night. But in the mean time I have made it abundantly manifest, that there are no other Contradictions or Repugnancies in this our Notion of a Spirit, than what the minds of our Adversaries, polluted with the impure dregs of *Imagination*, and unable to abstract *Metaphysical Extension* from *Corporeal* affections, do foully and slovenly clart upon it, and that this Idea lookt upon in it self does clearly appear to be a Notion at least of a thing *Possible*; which is all that we drive at in this place.

## S E C T. XXXIV.

*How far the Notion of a Spirit here defended is countenanced and confirmed by the common suffrage of all Adversaries.*

**A**ND that it may appear more plausible, we will not omit in the last place to take notice, how far it is countenanced and confirmed by the common suffrage of our Adversaries: For the *Hobbi*ans, and whatever other Philosophers else of the same stamp, do plainly assent to us in this, That whatsoever really is, is of necessity *extended*. But that they hence infer, that there is nothing in Nature but what is *Corporeal*, that truly they do very unskilfully and inconsequently collect, they by some weakness or morbidness of mind tumbling into so foul an error. For it is impossible that the mind of Man, unless it were laden and polluted with the dregs and dross of *Corporeal Imagination*, should suffer it self to sink into such a gross and dirty Opinion.

But that every thing that is, is extended, the *Nullibists* also themselves seem to me to be near the very point of acknowledging it for true and certain. For they do not dissemble it, but that if a *Spirit* be *somewhere*, it necessarily follows that it is also *extended*. And they moreover grant, that by its *Operation* it is present to or in the Matter, and that the *Essence* of a *Spirit* is not separated from its *Operations*.

But that a thing should *be*, and yet not be *any where* in the whole Universe, is so wild and mad a vote, and so absonous and abhorrent from all reason, that it cannot be said by any man in his wits, unless by way of sport or some slim jest, as I have intimated above; Whence their case is the more to be pitied, who captivated and blinded with admiration of the chief Author of so absurd an Opinion, do so solemnly and seriously embrace, and diligently endeavour to polish the same.

And

And lastly, as for the *Holenmerians*, those of them who are more cautious and considerate, do so explain their Opinion, that it scarce seems to differ an hairs breadth from ours. For though they affirm, that the Soul is in every part, yet they say they understand it not of the *Quantity* or *Extension* of the Soul, whereby it occupies the whole Body, but of the *perfection* of its *Essence* and *Vertue*: Which however true it may be of the Soul, it is most undoubtedly true of the *Divine Numen*, whose Life and Essence is most perfect and most full every where, as being such as every where contains *infinite Goodness, Wisdom, and Power*.

Thus we see that this Idea or Notion of a Spirit which is here exhibited to the World, is not only *possible* in it self, but very *plausible* and *unexceptionable*, and such as all parties, if they be rightly understood, will be found whether they will or no to contribute to the discovery of the truth and solidity thereof. And therefore is such as will not unusefully nor unseasonably conclude this First Part of *Saducismus Triumphatus*, which treats of the *Possibility* of *Apparitions* and *Witchcraft*, but make the way more easie to the acknowledgment of the force of the Arguments of the Second Part, *viz.* The many *Relations* that are produced to prove the *Actual Existence* of Spirits and Apparitions.

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AN  
ANSWER  
TO A  
LETTER  
OF A  
Learned Psychopyrift  
Concerning the true  
NOTION  
OF A  
SPIRIT,  
Exhibited in the foregoing  
DISCOURSE;  
WHEREIN

Both their Notions are compared, and the Notion in the  
faid Discourse defended, and many things difcuffed  
and cleared for more full fatisfaction touching the  
Nature of a SPIRIT.

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By *HENRY MORE*, D.D.

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LONDON,  
Printed for *S. Lownds*, MDC LXXXVIII.



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TO THE  
READER.

READER,

**H**AVING in the foregoing Discourse sufficiently declared, impartially discussed, and as I hope, solidly confuted the opinions of the Hohenmerians and Nullibists, I thought it not amiss to exhibit also to thy view the opinion of the Psychopyrists, (for so I rather call them than Pneumatopyrists; because the word is more compendious and less sonorous, and may bear the same sense,  $\psi\chi\epsilon\iota\nu$  as well as  $\pi\nu\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon\iota\nu$ , signifying Spirare, whence the Latin word Spiritus is, and our English, Spirit. Not to add that all Created Spirits, and they only are here meant, are  $\psi\chi\alpha\iota$  in all probability, and actuate some matter or other) I thought fit, I say, to acquaint thee with the opinion of these Psychopyrists, Philosophers that make the Essence or Substance of all created Spirits to be Fire, for so the word Psychopyrists signifies.

It is an opinion which I have had no occasion to meddle with since my Juvenile Altercations with Eugenius Philalethes, which is now many years ago. He being a Chymist made the Soul Fire, as Aristoxenus the Musician and Philosopher, made it an Harmony;



## To the READER.

mony ; of whom Cicero wittsly observes, *Quod non recessit ab arte sua*, which is as appositely said of Eugenius the Chymist. I was so confident in those days that no Matter whatever was capable of Cogitation, that whenas that Author avouched the Soul to be Fire, and excused it by adding he meant an Intelligent Fire : I, according to the sportfulness of my Pen at that age, told him, That he might as well have said the Soul was a Post, and then excused it again by adding, he meant an Intelligent Post. Something to that purpose I remember I replied, for I have not reviewed those Writings this many a year.

But in this Answer, thou art not, Reader, to expect any such Horse-play ; neither my age nor the quality of the Party who may seem to have espoused this opinion will bear any such thing. And besides, that opinion is not to be thought so ridiculous and contemptible, which the greatest Wits and gravest Authors may seem to have owned. Virgil the Prince of Poets and a great Platonist, so expresseth himself, as if he held the Soul to the Fire, in these Verses ; where speaking of the Souls of men, he says,

*Ignæ est ollis vigor & Cœlestis Origo  
Seminibus, quantum non noxia corpora tardant  
Terreniq; hebetant artus moribundaq; membra.*

And in another place speaking of the Purgation of Humane Souls after Death, he says they are so and so exercised,

Donec

## To the READER.

Donec longa dies perfecto temporis orbe  
Concretam exemit labem purumq; reliquit,  
Æthereum sensum atq; aurai simplicis ignem.

*Add unto this that the Chaldee and Magick Oracles call the Soul πῦρ φαιρόν, Lucid Fire, and abstain not from pronouncing that all things proceed ἐξ ἐνὸς πυρός; from that one Fire, which is God, as if that Spirit of Spirits, or Father of all Spirits were Fire. Nay the Greek Fathers, as he alledges for himself, are so confident of the Notion, that they divide Fire without any more to do into Intellectual, Sensitive, and Vegetative, so that it can be no blemish to any ones Reputation to be found amongst such choice Company.*

*Besides that, it is to be considered, that he who is here styled Psychopyrist, because he seems to be an Esposuer of this Opinion, is not so to be understood as if he made this ordinary, crass and visible Fire the Essence of a Spirit, but that his meaning is more subtle and refined. But what it is, you will best understand by reading the following Answer to his Letter. For this Argument is one remarkable part thereof; and if I be not mistaken, there are several others will occur not unworthy thy consideration, which to particularize in, is needless, and will swell the gates overproportionately to the City. Wherefore I will detain thee no longer, but leave thee to a Candid perusal of the ensuing Answer, and so bid thee farewell.*

H. M.

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AN





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A N  
A N S W E R  
T O A  
L E T T E R,

Containing

A Defence of the True Notion of a SPIRIT,  
delivered in the foregoing Discourse.

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S E C T. I.

*That though the Learned Psychopyrist and the Author be agreed in the Fundamentalis Conceptus of a Spirit, that it is a Substance, yet they disagree in the Conceptus Formalis thereof.*

S I R,

**I** Have abstained from writing to you till now, because I had a mind to get a Book into my hands to peruse some things in it before I writ, which I got but a day or two ago. But now I shall answer, to avoid all tediousness to you or my self, with all brevity I can, in the noting where we agree, and where we differ in the Notion of a *Spirit* in general, or in the adequate definition thereof. For out of the two inadequate *Conceptus*'s, as you call them (and I intend to use your Phrases all along which are such as occur in the Writings

of Mr. R. B. as the Notions also in your Letter are very like the Notions in Judge Hales's Writings and his) out of those two *Conceptus*'s I say, one adequate *Conceptus* does result, which must reach all Spirits, and none but Spirits, or else we miss our mark. Now for the first inadequate *Conceptus*, which you call *Conceptus Fundamental*, and acknowledge to be *Substance*, we are both agreed that it is *Substance*. But the *Conceptus Formalis*, whereby it is distinguished from all *Substance* that is not Spirit, that we do not seem to hit on alike. For unless all whatever is, is *Spirit*, we are to give such a *Substance* to Spirit as is specifically opposite to all other *Substance* in the Universe, besides it self, or else we do nothing. Now I demand, whether there be not *Matter* in the World as well as *Spirit*, and whether the immediate, known, and universally acknowledged Notion of *Matter* be not real *Divisibility* and *Impenetrability* of its parts one to another. This is *body* or *matter* according to the common Notion of Philosophers, τὸ τευχὴ διασάσειν ἀντί-τυπον. And if this be the immediate character of *matter*, it naturally and logically follows, that the immediate character of its opposite Species, *Spirit*, must be *Indivisibility* and *Penetrability*. And therefore those essential Characters must be a part of the *Conceptus Formalis* of a *Spirit*, whereby it is distinguished from *body* or *matter*. So that two *Substances*, *Matter* and *Spirit*, stand opposite one to another, specifically distinct, by their immediate, essential and inseparable Attributes, the one being really *discerpible* and *impenetrable*, the other *penetrable*, and *indiscerpible*, sufficiently thus to be discriminated, before we consider any Principle of *Activity* in either. And thus much being conceded, that there are these two kinds of *Substances* in the World so described, I appeal to any mans faculties, whether of the two, *Spirit*, be not the more likely to be the Fountain of all Life and Motion, and *Matter* a meerly *passive* Principle, that is to say, unactive of it self, nor moved but as the other Principle moves it, and modifies it. And therefore,  
that

that the true Notion of a Spirit in general is, what I have set down Sect. 18. viz. *An immaterial (which is, a penetrable and indiscerpible) substance, intrinsically endued with Life and Motion.* Whatever is this, is Spirit, and whatever substance is not this, is no Spirit, but Matter. And that Life and Motion, and Sympathy and Syn-energy should intrinsically result from a substance that is so much one as to be indiscerpible, and so subtile, as to be in such sort penetrable, as is there described, rather than from Matter that is the contrary, how rational it is I have intimated in Sect. 31. which Section is worth ones serious consideration and attention.

Thus therefore it is, that though we both agree in the *Conceptus Fundamental*is of a Spirit in general, that it is substance, yet we differ in the *Conceptus Formal*is, in that you miss that part which is first and most immediate in the specification of it, which includes its *Penetrability* and *Indiscerpibility*, that which makes it *Ens unum per se & non per aliud*, which every thing, that is not a Spirit, is, viz. *Ens unum per aliud*, a thing held together in one by vertue of something else, not immediately of its own essence becoming one, and therefore is *discerpible*, and one part separable from another.

## SECT. II.

*A threefold faultiness in the Psychopyrists Conceptus Formalis of a Spirit; one of which not only a Mistake, but a Mischief: And of the necessity of a Spirits Penetrability as well as Indiscerpibility; and how natural it is to conceive, that from such a substance do issue the operations of Life.*

Wherefore your *Conceptus Formalis* of a Spirit in general, viz. *Virtus vitaliter activa, perceptiva, & appetitiva*, seems to me faulty upon a threefold account. First, in that it leaves out what is contained in



the *Conceptus Formalis* of a Spirit in general, namely its *Penetrability* and *Indiscernibility*. And, Secondly, in that it puts into this *Conceptus Formalis* of a Spirit more than we can rationally assure our selves to be in every Spirit, viz. *Perception*: For we have no assurance that a *Plastick* Spirit has *Perception*, but may well be assured that *quatenus* *Plastick* it has none. Otherwise the Soul would perceive the organization of her own Body. And, thirdly and lastly, I do not easily assent to that conceit of a Trinity in this *Conceptus Formalis*, which you make to consist in *Virtute una-trina*, *Vitali*, *Appetitiva*, & *Perceptiva*: Which makes three no more than *Animal*, *Homo*, and *Brutum* make three, or *Cupiditas*, *Desiderium* & *Fuga*.

But this is but an harmless *mistake*, but the omission of *Immaterial* in your *Conceptus Formalis*, or which is all one, of *Penetrability* and *Indiscernibility*, is not only a *mistake* but a *mischief*, it implying, that the *Virtus Appetitiva* and *Perceptiva*, may be in a substance though *Materi*al, which betrays much of the succours that Philosophy affords to Religion in the points of the Existence of a God and Immortality of the Soul, if it were true: But that *Materia qualitercunque modificata* is incapable of *Perception*, both the *Cartesians* all affirm, and I have I think abundantly demonstrated in my Writings.

In this thing therefore, you and I fundamentally differ, in that you omit, but I include *Penetrability* and *Indiscernibility* in the *Conceptus Formalis* of a Spirit. So that nothing can be a Spirit that has them not in the sense that I declare. Spirit must be *Penetrative* of Spirit and of *Matter* as well as *Indiscernible*, else would it be more hard than any Flint; but its *Penetrability* makes it more pliant and subtle than the subtlest Matter imaginable. And to a substance of such an *Oneness* and *Subtlety* is rationally attributed whatever *Activity*, *Sympathy*, *Synergy*, *Appetite*, and *Perception* is found in the World, as I noted above. Here therefore is the most notorious difference betwixt us, in which I am the more concerned, because it is not only a *Mistake*, but a *Mischief*, as I said before. But I proceed.

SECT.

## SECT. III.

*That he that does not admit a distinction of substance into Material and Immaterial, antecedent to vital powers and operations, cannot pretend out of any vital Virtues or Powers to be better acquainted with Spirit than Matter.*

**Y**OU say, you are your self far better acquainted with the nature of a Spirit by that essential *Virtus Formalis* namely, by that *una-trina Virtus* abovenamed) than from the Notion of Substantiality. But I demand here, you omitting that part of the *Conceptus Formalis* which I contend for, how does it appear that you do not entertain matter for the substantiality of this *Virtus Formalis*, and so embrace a Cloud instead of *Juno*, some modified body instead of a pure spirit? No one can pretend to be better acquainted with a Spirit by that *una-trina Virtus Formalis*, but he that can prove that those Virtues are Incompetible to Matter, and so withal that there are two distinct kinds of Substances in the Universe, Spirit, and Body or Matter, and that opposite Attributes are to be given to these opposite Species, and consequently that Matter or Body being *discerpible*, a Spirit ought to be *indiscerpible*, and Body being *Impenetrable*, according to the common Tenent of Philosophers, Spirits should be *Penetrable*. And lastly, Matter being dead, and passive, Spirit should be the source of life and activity. If this be not an easie, natural, and sound method of Philosophising, I appeal to any ones Judgment.

## S E C T. IV.

*What Confusion and Repugnancy it is to make Self-motion or Intrinsic Vitality, part of the Conceptus Formalis of a Spirit, and yet to attribute it to some Matter. And what a slippery business, to put Natures Active and Passive, instead of Immaterial and Material.*

**B**UT say you, *And yet I dare not say that a Self-moving Principle is proper to a Spirit.* But Aristotle did not stick to say so, who made the matter a meer passive Principle. And surely if a Man will follow the common sentiments of humane Nature, if he acknowledge a *Spiritual* substance distinct from the *material*, he will give *Activity* to the one, and *Passivity* or *Actuability* to the other. It is a strange force and distortion to the faculties of the Mind to do otherwise. But you hold on, *Nor do I consent to Campanella, De sensu rerum, and Dr. Glisson that would make all things alive by an essentializing form in the very Elements.* Here I desire you to consider if any Matter have life and motion in it self, whether all has not, though variously modified. And whether it be fair play thus, when there is no reason for it, to make Fish of one, and Flesh of another. All the matter of the natural World, the common consent of most Philosophers hath made of one Species, which it would not be if part were *self-moved*, part *not*.

Besides, when you include *life*, (of which *Self-motion* certainly is an effect) in the *Conceptus Formalis* of a *spirit*; is not this an horrible Confusion or Repugnancy to say, it is *not proper* to a *spirit*, and consequently may belong to *matter*? That which is included in your *Conceptus Formalis*, which is the *specifick* difference of the thing, is proper to that thing, and therefore cannot be communicated to another. Wherefore we are to deny *Self-motion* in the *matter* it *self* every-where, as not belonging thereto, but to Spirit. But it follows,



*I distinguish Natures into Active and Passive, and Passivity serveth me as well as Materiality. But I desire to know, why it should serve your turn as well as Materiality, when as it is of more laxness and uncertainty, and therefore may serve you a slippery trick. But Materiality is a notion more strict, distinct, and steady, and belongs only to one kind of things, that is to say, to things Material, but Passivity to things Immaterial as well as Material. But you hold on.*

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## SECT. V.

*That the Learned Psychopyrist need not be in despair of knowing whence the Descensus gravium is, whether from an innate Principle in the heavy Bodies themselves, or from some Spirit, sith the Author of the Discourse touching the True Notion of a Spirit, has so plainly demonstrated the latter in his Writings.*

**B**<sup>UT</sup> whence the Descensus gravium is, I despair of knowing. If you mean whether it be from an innate Principle of the heavy things themselves, or from some Immaterial Principle that moves the Matter of the World, I will adventure to tell you, the thing is not so desperate as you fancy, but bid you be of good courage; For it is demonstrable, that the Descensus gravium is not from any Principle springing from their own Matter, but from an Immaterial Principle, distinct therefrom. Which Principle to be the Mover of the Matter of the Universe, I have over and over again demonstrated in my *Enchiridion Metaphysicum*. And particularly, which was a main Point betwixt that excellent person Judge Hales and my self, in the rising of a wooden Rundle from the bottom of a Bucket of Water.

I will give you that Instance for many, which I desire you to canvas from the very first rise of it, *Enchirid. Metaphys. cap. 13. sect. 4. 7, 8.* reading for sureness all the  
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the *Scholia* upon that Chapter, *Volum. Philosoph. Tom. 1. p. 219, 220, 221, &c.* where all the Objections of *Christophorus Sturmius* are answered, against this *Principium Hylarchicum*. And if you be not yet satisfied, which I think it is impossible for any one not to be, that understands what I have writ; read *pag. 363. my Adnotamentum vicesimum in Tentamen de Gravitatione, &c.* and my *Scholia* upon that *Adnotamentum, p. 369, 370, &c.* Where you shall find that excellent person, whose Philosophy notwithstanding much symbolizes with that which you seem to embrace, very handsomly, but covertly to give up the cause and acknowledge my experiment of the two *Hydrostatical* Buckets to perform the feat they are brought for. See *p. 370. l. 13.* and so on; and if you read all the *Scholia* till *pag. 373.* and set your self distinctly to understand, you will be convinced whether you will or no.

And that nothing may be wanting to undeceive you, read that little Treatise whose Title is, *Philosophematum eruditi Autoris Difficilium Pugarum de Principiis Motuum Naturalium sive de Essentiis mediis, & de modo Rarefactionis & Condensationis Examinatio*. Where I answer also to no less than nine or ten Objections of that worthy Author against my *Spirit of Nature*. And I doubt not but if he had lived to read what I have writ, he would have been wholly of my mind, and relinquished that way of Philosophising, which you as well as he seem to be entangled in, being thus offered more clear Light. But I hold on with your Letter.

SECT.

## SECT. VI.

That if there be an innate Self-moving principle in the matter of heavy Bodies, their resting when they are come to the Earth, does not excuse them from participating of the *Conceptus Formalis* of a Spirit. And that there may be as much Vitality in Fixedness, as in Flitting. The vast difference still remaining betwixt the Psychopyrist and the Author of the True Notion of a Spirit, touching the *Conceptus Formalis*.

AND if it be true, say you, of an innate Principle, I call it not therefore a Spirit, because it is but *Passivorum motus aggregativus ad unionem in quiete*, when Spirits Motion is Vital, and so essential to them, that they tend not to union in Quiescence, but in everlasting Activity; Quiescence in Inactivity being as much against their Nature, as Motion against a Stone's. To which I say, (1.) If the *Descensus gravium* be from an Innate Principle, that is to say, that the Matter there moves it self (and if you are for *Essentia media*, as the abovementioned Author is, I have abundantly confuted them in my Examination) you adjoyn the Property of a Spirit to Matter, as I noted above, which is a plain Repugnancy, that any part of the *Formalis Conceptus* of one Species, should be an Attribute in its opposite Species. This breaks in pieces all the bands of Logick. (2.) It is not here *merè passivorum motus*, but heavy Bodies moving themselves, as is supposed; they are as much active as passive, and are no otherwise passive in this point but as they act upon themselves; and Spirits, properly so called, are passive in that sense. So that an heavy Body is made a Mungril kind of thing upon this account, a Chimera or Centaure. For look upon its Self-activity, and it looks like a Spirit, look upon its Materiality (for it is meer Matter, actuating it self according to this Hypothesis) and it is no other than a Body. (3.) If they be Self-moved, it matters



matters not to what they tend, *Body* in the mean time has the property of a *Spirit*, as I said before. And fourthly and lastly, That Stones and other Bodies rest upon the Earth, is not by a torpid Inactivity in them, for their torpid Inactivity would not excuse them from being flung off by the circular motion of the Earth on its Poles, as I have plainly demonstrated in my *Enchiridion Metaphysicum*, but what brings them thither, detains them there, viz. the *Hylostatick Spirit* of the Universe, whose detaining them is as *vital* and *positive* as his bringing them thither. And there is as much Activity in fixedness of thoughts, as in discursive Flitting from one thing to another. Thus mistakenly is that *Vital* operation given to heavy *Bodies*, that belongs to the *Spirit* of the World. And if you conceit this Motion or Fixation in the heavy Bodies themselves, in that they defend themselves from being cast off from the Earth by the diurnal motion thereof, it is as *positive Vitality* in them, as their descent to the Earth. As there is as much life and vigour required in stopping on the Frets of a Lute above, as in striking below on the Strings. Thus things are, and yet you conclude in the next lines,

*So that I think we are agreed of the Formal notice of a Spirit in general, and of an Intellectual, Sensitive, and Vegetative in Specie. That there may be a vegetative Species without Sense; and that there is a sensitive Species without Intellect, and that Eternal Intellect is without Vegetation, I easily grant and am agreed to with you. But there is a vast difference yet betwixt us, in that in the Formalis Conceptus of a Spirit, you leave out Immateriality, or which is the same Penetrability and Indiscernibility. Which slip, as I said above, is not a meer mistake, but a mischief. This is all that I have to note touching your Conceptus Formalis of a Spirit in general.*

## S E C T. VII.

*That Materia and Substantia differ as Genus and Species, and what Substantia properly and adequately is. And that the bare and naked substance of a thing is not knowable neither in this life, nor haply in the life to come. But only Essential Attributes, Habitues, and Operations.*

PAssing to the *Conceptus Fundamental*, you say thus, *But truly I am at a loss about the Conceptus Fundamental, wherein the true difference lyeth between Substantia and Materia.* Methinks the difference lies very obvious to any observing Eye, namely, that *Substantia* and *Materia* differ as *Genus* and *Species*, so as *Animal* and *Brutum* differ, and you may perfect the division thus, Substance is either *Matter* or *Spirit*, as *Animal* is either *Brutum* or *Homo*. I content my self with such easie Analysis. But you proceed.

*Do we by Substantia mean a Conceptus Realis, or only Relativus? To say it doth substare accidentibus speaks but a Relation directly, and leaves the question unanswered. Quid est quod substat accidentibus? To say it is not an Accident, tells us not what it is, but what it is not. To say it does subsistere per se, either saith no more than that it is Ens reale, or else tells us not what it is that doth subsist.*

(1.) As for that relative signification, we do not here so much regard it. It looks more like that Logical Notion of *Subiectum*, which relates to *Adjunctum*.

(2.) And though to say it is no Accident tells us not what it is, but what it is not; yet it illustrates its nature by its opposition, (as that Logical Maxim teacheth us, *Contraria juxta se posita magis elucescunt*;) The Nature of an Accident being such that it cannot exist but in another; that of a Substance such, that it needs no inhesion, as an Accident does in another Subject, but subsists by it self, and stands as it were on its own legs.

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This is the proper Character of *Substance*, quatenus *Substance*. What can be more plain than this? And a Man is to consider whether it be not a piece of *Ἀπαρεια*, when so compleat a definition is given, to inquire further, what is that which does subsist by its self, as if one after he has heard another define *Man* to be a *rational living Creature*, should demand, I but, what is that which is a rational living Creature? What can be answered but, That it is a Man? And so when we define *Substance* to be a Being subsisting by it self, if one demand, but what is that which subsists by it self? What can be answered but that it is *Substance*? And I will further add out of my *Enchiridion Ethicum* lib. 3. cap. 4. That it is one of the Rules of *Prudence* to remember in our Contemplations. *Nullius rei intimam nudamve essentiam cognosci posse, sed Attributa tantum essentialia essentialisque Habitudines*, which I set down to stear men off from splitting themselves on this Rock; as if by any definition, or any way else, they were able to discover the very bare Essence or Substance of any thing. Which I think is the Priviledge of the *J EHOVAH* Himself only, the only Wise *G O D*, and great *Essentiator* of all things. But to perceive the bare Essence of any thing beyond its Attributes, Operations, and Habitudes, is not given to any Creature, as I conceive, either in this World, or in that which is to come. But we'll proceed.

SECT.



## SECT. VIII.

*That words are not to be prescinded from their usual and known signification; and that the meaning of Materia in use includes Impenetrability, Discerpibility, and Self-Inactivity, according to Aristotle, and the best approved Philosophers; With a Note of the specifically distinct Substance of Spirit and Matter antecedently, to the Self-Activity of the one, and the Self-Inactivity of the other.*

**Q**Uoad Notationem Nominis, say you, distinct from use doth not *Materia* and *Substantia* signifie the same Fundamental Conceptus? This question is something obscure. I know no *Notatio Nominis*, but the Interpretation of it from some Logical Topick, which must be in words compound or derivative; but *Materia* is a word simple. And why should we not take words according to their use, rather than prescind them from it? You would have those two terms signifie the one no more than the other, or neither more than to what some one distinctive *Conceptus Formalis* might be joined indifferently. But I say again, they are not one, but differ as *Genus* and *Species*, and *Materia* is the *Species* of *Substantia*, and includes in it its own *Conceptus Formalis*, which is Impenetrability, Discerpibility and Self-Inactivity according to *Aristotle* and the best approved Philosophers, an opposite *Conceptus Formalis* to that of *Spirit*. That is the form or notifying difference of Matter, as Penetrability, Indiscerpibility, and Self-Activity, of *Spirit*. But you go on.

You difference, say you, *Substance* and *Matter* antecedently to the formal difference by Penetrability and Impenetrability, Indivisibility and Divisibility. Here, say I, you confound *Substance* and *Matter*, as if they adequately signified the same, when as according to use in all approvable Philosophy, they differ as *Genus* and *Species*:  
Nor

Nor does Penetrability and Indivisibility, Impenetrability and Divisibility antecede the whole formal difference of Matter and Spirit, whenas they themselves are part of the *Conceptus Formalis*, the one of *Matter* the other of a *Spirit*; or are the whole *Conceptus Formalis* of the Specifically distinct substance of each, antecedent to the *Activity* of the one, and *Inactivity* of the other.

## SECT. IX.

*Of the knowledge of the Indivisibility and Penetrability of Spirits in this Life, how far it may extend. And that holy Souls in the other World are no Affectors of useless knowledge.*

**B**UT first, say you, I despair of knowing in this Life how far Spiritual Substances are Penetrable and Indivisible. I grant you such an extension as shall free them from being Nothing Substantial, and from being infinite as God is. If a Man be not in a right method of conceiving or ordering his thoughts, he may be in the like puzzle in the other World that he finds himself in this. But if he consider that God has created a Spirit, *Ens unum per se & non per aliud*, so that immediately of its own nature, if it be at all, it is *Indiscerpible*; As a plain Triangle, if it be at all, hath its Angles equal to two right ones, he may safely conclude, even in this Life, that a Spirit is utterly *Indiscerpible*, so long as it is, but God may annihilate it at his pleasure.

And now for the *Penetrability* of Spirits, it is evident even in this Life, that they can wholly penetrate one another so far as their Essence extends, for one may have a greater amplitude than another. And that the parts, as I may so call them, of the same Spirit may, in the contraction of it self, penetrate one another, so that there may be a Reduplication of Essence through  
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the whole Spirit. But as you very well observe with *Scaliger* before you, a Spirit can neither extend it self in *infinitum*, nor contract it self in *puncti & δειντα*, into the nullity of a point. And though your modesty make nothing of this, methinks this is sufficient for a Rational Creature, whether here or hereafter, for I do not think that in the other World holy Souls affect useless knowledge. In this therefore, we both, I conceive, do fully agree, that we are neither of us *Nullibists* nor *Hollenmerians*.

### SECT. X.

*That Inseparably continued Amplitude belongs to Spirits as well as discreet Quantity, with an Answer to the most plausible objection against the same. Whether Forms multiply themselves or no, and in what sence it is true, that Generation is the work of Spirits not Bodies, and by what means many Substances become one.*

SEcondly, say you, we grant Spirits a *Quantitas discreta*, they are *Numerous, Individuate*; and *Formæ se multiplicant*, Generation is the work of Spirits and not of Bodies, and how can I tell that that God that can make many out of one, cannot make many into one, and unite and divide them as well as Matter. This passage is worth our attentive consideration; wherefore I say, (1.) If *Quantitas discreta* be allowed to Spirits, why may not an Indiscerpible continuance of Amplitude be allowed to them also. You'll reply, it may not, because (and it is one of the most ingenious Allegations that I have met with) that then a Spirit might be measured by a Ruler of Wood or Brass, and be declared to be so many Inches or Foot long or wide, which would argue it not to be a Spirit but Matter or Body. Why? because it is measured by Wood or Brass? What if we should number a certain numerous multitude of Spirits, casting up their

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numbers



numbers by Brass Counters, would it follow that these Spirits are Corporeal because the Brass Counters are so? The Reason is as firm in the one as the other, as I have more fully noted elsewhere. (2.) And now for *Formæ se multiplicant*, I desire to know what is meant by *Formæ*, whether the *Accidents* or *Modes* of some Substance or some *Substances* actuating other Substances. If the former, it reaches not our case, the Argument being of Spirits that are Substances. And I say, no Substance can multiply it self, for if Substance remaining still the same entire Substance should multiply into other Substances, it were an act of Creation, which is incompetible to a Creature. But if it shed, or part with part of its own Substance, that in my account is not *Multiplication* but *Division*. (3.) That which follows is a sound and golden saying, if rightly understood, That Generation is the work of *Spirits* and not of *Bodies*, for Body or Matter of it self is passive, and can do nothing but as it is either mediately or immediately actuated by a Spirit, as Fire, and Water and Air, and all other Bodies that are in motion are actuated, either by the *Hylostatick Spirit* of the Universe, or by their own proper Spirit, as Brute Animals, Angels, and Men. And thus are all Inanimate Creatures, so vulgarly styled, Generated by the *Spirit of Nature*, and all particular Animals, Brutes and Men, are Generated, that is to say, *Formed* by their proper Souls, the Spirit of Nature, so far as it is fitting, preparing the matter, but all in the mean time depending upon that universal Creator of all things, God, blessed for ever.

But in the last place, *how a man may tell that that God that can make many out of one, cannot make many into one, &c.* If the meaning be of Substantial Spirits, it has been already noted, that God acting in Nature, does not make many Substances out of one Substance, the same Substance remaining still entire, for then Generation would be Creation. And no sober Man believes, that God assists any Creature so in Natural Course, as to enable

able it to Create. And then I suppose, that he that believes not this, is not bound to puzzle himself, why God may not as well make many Substances into one as many out of one, whenas he holds he does not the latter, but that every Substance that is Created, is Created immediately from God. And whatever two or more Substances become one, it is either by *Vital subordinate Actuation* of the Souls and Bodies of Men that makes one Man, and of the Souls and Bodies of Brutes that makes it some Species of Brute Creatures; or else for *Inanimate Creatures* so usually called, as Plants and all other Inanimate Bodies that seem different Species of things, they in their particular consistences are held together into one by the *Spirit* of the *Universe*. And I know no other ways, according to the Course of Nature of many Substances becoming one, but these.

## SECT. XI.

*Of Gods making many Spirits or Souls into one, and of the many difficulties that opinion is encumbred with, as particularly in that instance of the Souls of Men being supposed to be ex traduce.*

**B**UT upon further attention to your last words, *And divide them as well as Matter* you seem not to make so strange an *Oneness*, or mysterious *division* of these Spirits as I conceiv'd from your frame of Speech at first. But when you add, *and unite and divide them as well as Matter*, it implies I confess no contradiction to the power of God, that *He* may hold a Company of *contracted* Spirits together or *expanded*, as well as the *Spirit of Nature* a Congeries of Particles, and then disunder them again. But to say any such thing is done, I see neither truth nor usefulness in the Assertion. But this we will consider further in what follows, which is this.

*But if he should, (viz. divide these Spirits) that would*

be no destruction of their Species as the Mixtorum dissolution is, but as every drop of divided Water is Water, and one Candle lighting many, and many joining in one are all the same Fire, so much more would it be with Spirits were they united or divided, and their Locality and Penetrability are past our conceit. This looks plausibly and speciously on't at the first sight, and it is true, that the dividing of these united Spirits would be no destruction of their Species, as it is in the dissolution of mixt Bodies; but if we look more closely into the business, this Assertion is burdened with great difficulties, and many demands are to be satisfied before it can be allowed. For this multitude of Spirits, of Souls suppose, made into one, are yet so many Individual Souls notwithstanding this union; As suppose a Congeries of Physical *Monads*, or smallest Particles of Matter of which some Body is compounded, are still so many Individual or Numerical Particles or Physical *Monads* notwithstanding this their Composition into one Body. Wherefore concerning the Soul of *Adam*, (for this contrivance seems chiefly to look toward their opinion, that say the Soul is *extraduce*, which some, otherwise prudent and intelligent Men, do hold.)

First, I demand, whether this multitude of Souls which makes up that one Soul of *Adam*, as so many Drops make up one Bucket of Water, have all of them Perception and Understanding in them or no, which if they all have, their Nature being co-ordinate, they are so many *Personalities*. And *Adam's* Name might have been Legion, at least, as well as the Possessed Man's in the Gospel.

Secondly, If *Adam* was not such a Legion, or rather innumerable company of Spirits, which one of this company was *Adam* himself; and who were the rest of the Company? Were they all the Souls of Men that were to come into this World, beside the Soul of *Adam* and the Soul of *Eve*, or was *Eve's* Body tull fraught with Souls also? And if so,

Thirdly,



Thirdly, I demand, what laws of shedding of Souls there is betwixt Male and Female in Generation, and whether the Soul from the Female is shed when a Female Child was to be born, and a Soul from a Male when a Male-Child was to be born? In which I know no absurdity in Nature unless it should be one, and that should be implied thereby, that *Souls* are *Male* and *Female*; but Theology in the mean time would be at a loss, to find a Male Soul in the Virgin of whom was born the Messias. But to let this pass, we enquire,

Fourthly, Whether that innumerable company of Souls in *Adam* and *Eve* were in an *expanded* condition or *contracted*. If in an *expanded* condition, they all immediately reaching the Body well fitted, and inactuating it, the vigour of the Body must be increased according to the numerosity of these actuating Spirits in it; what a Lusty Young Man then must this *Adam* have been and *Eve* what a Frolick Young Virgin, or else how hugely and tearingly strong had they both been, like some *Evil Spirits* possessed with many Dæmons?

Fifthly, What an infinite change would there be in *Adam* and *Eve* when they had parted with so many of their actuating Spirits in Venereal Copulation: *Adam* to his Male Children, and *Eve* to the Female, which they were so to distribute to their immediate Off-spring Male and Female, as only to leave their own single Souls for the actuating their Bodies while they lived, otherwise if there were any more left behind, what became of them at their Death? and therefore,

Sixthly, I further enquire, there being a number of Souls imparted in Generation, to whether Male or Female that are to be born, what becomes of those many Souls when a Man or Woman dies and never is Married?

Seventhly, I would have you consider what a difference there must be betwixt the vigour of unmarried Men and Women of some thousand years ago, and those of this present Age, every one now being reduced to that

that paucity of Souls to actuate his Body in comparison of what they had some thousand years ago, and how uncompliant this difference is with History.

Eighthly, If these Souls be not all of them in this *expanded* condition, but only the proper Souls of *Adam* and *Eve*; and the numerous Remainder being in a *contracted* condition, I demand, how all these become one Soul in such a sort as you (if I mistake you not) fancy all the Lights of several Candles light up together become one Light or Fire? And whether they will not lie in the Body of *Adam* and *Eve* as the little Eggs that make up the Roe of a Fish; as also whether this Roe of Souls or Spirits pass through the whole Body, or in what peculiar Vessels are they lodged? And

Ninthly, These *contracted* Spirits in reality having as much Essence or Substance in them as the *expanded*, (else when they inform a Body, to actuate the whole Body, they must be enlarged by seeking and patching more substance to them, which is contrary to the Nature of Spirits) I demand, what becomes of them also when a Man or Woman dies and transmits them to no other, by having to do with the Duties of Wedlock?

Tenthly, As for your illustrations of what you will have in this point, That these several Spirits or Souls may be united into one Soul, as the several lights of a Candle into one Light or Fire, or as several Drops of Water into one Bucket of Water, if that be brought to illustrate the union of these Spirits, as well as their Identity of Species still upon their division; I desire you to consider the nature of Light thoroughly, and you shall find it nothing but a certain motion of a *Medium*, whose parts or Particles are so or so qualified, some such way as *Cartesianism* drives at. But here is not Substances uniting into one Substance which is your case, but motion communicated from several Movers, becoming one Motion in one Subject; as when two Men thrust one and the same Body on, or whip one and the same Top, though there be two Thrusters or Whippers, there is  
but

but one motion from them two in that one Body or Top they thrust or whip. So that this comes not home to the point. And for the Drops of Water, or several *Flames* of a Candle joined into one, which viewing your words again, I suspect may be as well your sense, though for sureness you should have said *one Flame* rather than *one Fire*, although this illustrates well how some things united keep the same specifick denomination also after they are divided; yet such an *union* as that of *Water*, and likewise *division* makes the Soul of Man, or of any Animal else look not like *Soul* or *Spirit*, but *Matter*. And there is a Repugnancy in the very supposition, to be one *Soul*, or to be one *Spirit*, and yet to be divisible into parts which are separately Souls or Spirits, as if every Soul or Spirit were an *Homogeneal Mass* of Soul or Spirit, as Water is of Water, and Air of Air.

But to make an end of this Paragraph, when as in the last place you add concerning these united Souls or Spirits, *And their Locality and Penetrability are past our conceit*. I desire you to consider whether it be not a lothness and unwillingness strictly and closely to examine, rather than an Inability to conceive the *Penetrability* and *Locality* of these Spirits (how they must be in the Body of *Adam*, or of any Brute Animal, either in an *expanded* or *contracted* condition, as has been above noted) that makes you so shie of meddling with their *Locality* and *Penetrability*. For haply, if you had considered the thing so closely as I have at this time, you might have found your self so sensible of the encumbrances on the opinion, that you would have quite discarded it, and espoused some other that looks more handsomely on't, and is better accorded to the old *Mosaick Cabbala*, that makes the Active or *Spiritual* principle *Indivisible*, or *Indiscerpible*. The Symbol of which Principle is *Light*, but is said to be created in the *first* day, a *Monad* signifying the *Indivisible* Nature thereof. But to say any thing is *Spirit*, and yet can be actually *divided* into parts, is a Repugnancy to the Nature of the thing, and a



Contradiction to the *Σοφία Θεοπνευστός*, the Divinely inspired wisdom of the old Cabbala.

## SECT. XII.

*Whether Souls in Generation be produced as when one Candle lights another: and how that conceit is false, as also in-compliable with the Psychopyrist's Hypothesis. With other difficulties touching the Penetrability and Locality of such a Soul as he imagines.*

**I**F I have upon second thoughts hit your true meaning in those words, *One Candle lighting many, and many joining or joined in one* (I know not which) *are all the same Fire*, that you mean only this, That they are supposed to be put so near one another, the Candles being so cut on purpose, that the Wicks might touch, and so all the Flames join together, this then is no more than that of the resemblance of the union of the parts of Water. But the activity of Fire does still more increase those difficulties, how Mankind should still retain the like vivacity (and so of Brute Creatures) that they did some thousand years ago, their Active principle being so much diminished, unless you recur to that common plausible Conceit, That as one Candle lights another Candle without diminishing its own Flame, so *Adam's* Soul may give a Soul to *Cain* or *Abel* without diminishing his own. But this is against your Hypothesis, which plainly implies, that many Souls are made into one, and then separated or divided upon Generation. Nor is there any Refuge in this similitude of lighting one Candle at another, for the admotion of the lighted Candle to the unlighted, does only put the sulphurous parts of the unlighted Candle into motion, and leaves the *spirit of Nature* excited by this new occasion to pursue its work, till all the combustible matter be dispersed. But what's this to the production of a Soul or Spirit which

which is a *Substance*? The lighted Candle produces no substance, but by its application excites the Spirit of the World to move, which causes the Particles of Tallow to be in such a manner moved as they exhibit to our view that Phenomenon of Flame. So that according to this, the production of a Soul *ex Traduce*, would end in meer *Materialism*, and signifie only, that in Generation some matter only is newly modified, as the Tallow is or Wax when they pass out of their state of Wax or Tallow into that of a bright Flame. Which way of Philosophizing, as it is most *false*, so it is most *mischievous* if men should be so fond as to believe it.

And now indeed touching this compounded Soul of yours made up of numerous Souls united into one, they being so Crass and Material, I can say as well as you, their *Penetrability and Locality* (so as to make up one Soul, suppose of *Adam*) are past our conceit: Not that it is past our conceit that *Locality* so belongs to the Soul that it must be somewhere, for you your self allow it an extension, but where it should be placed in the Body: For it self being Matter, it cannot penetrate Body, and therefore if it actuate the whole Body, it must be dispersed in innumerable Pores as it were thereof, which consists very ill with the union of these numerous Souls; and if they lie altogether in some one particular place, the residue of the Body will be destitute of Soul, with the ill Consequences thereof. Which Considerations may very well cause puzzles touching its *Locality*, or rather the placing of it; and therefore I should think it more advisable to embrace such Hypotheses as are not past our conceit. But we are not to insist overlong upon one Paragraph.

## S E C T. XIII.

*That Penetrability and Indivisibility are not Accidents of a Spirit, but Essential Attributes thereof: And that it is a piece of 'Απειροσμία, as was noted before, to hope to know the bare and naked substance of any thing.*

**T**Hirdly, say you, but were we sure of what you say therein, these two, Penetrability and Indivisibility, speak but Accidents though proper, and therefore are no satisfying notice of the notion of Substance Spiritual, as distinct from Matter. To this I say, that Penetrability and Indivisibility are not Accidents at all, no more than *Rationale* is an Accident in the definition of a Man, but they are Immediate Essential Attributes, as much as any are in the World, and at least part of the full *Conceptus Formalis* of a Spirit as such, or of a Spirit in general.

You seem to require such a Definition or Representation of a thing as should exhibit to your Perception the very naked Substance of the thing, against which point of what *Aristotle* calls 'Απειροσμία, nor I know well how to English it, is that Caution or Advertisment in the third Book of my *Enchiridion Ethicum*, That the bare and intimate Essence of a thing is not to be known, but only certain Essential Attributes or Habitudes, as I noted before. And this is a Rule, I think, worth the inculcating and observing. When we say, *Homo est Animal Rationale*, which is accounted as Essential a Definition as any we meet withal, and the most immediate; Yet *Rationale*, which is a specifick difference accounted, and therefore abundantly Essential, when we closely look unto it, it affords us no more than the notice that a Man is such an one that has the faculty and operation of Reasoning, but neither the faculty nor operation is the Essence. Let this intimation suffice to mind us of the limits of our own knowledge, that we do not vainly  
either



either desire or attempt to go beyond the lists that God and Nature hath set us. Wherefore these Attributes which are Immediate, Adequate, and Inseparable from a Spirit, are as *Essential* to a Spirit as any Attributes are to any thing, and ought to be acknowledged a satisfying notice of the notion of Substance Spiritual as distinct from Matter.

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#### S E C T. XIV.

*A Synopsis of the Psychopyrist's philosophizings touching a Spirit. The four first particulars thereof, where amongst other things the insufficiency of his Reasonings for laying aside the use of the words Immaterial and Material, and his holding only to the distinction of Natures Active and Passive, is noted.*

**I** May perhaps have been over-tedious already, but yet because you have been pleased still more particularly, though compendiously, to impart to me your thoughts touching this present Subject, I shall bestow some strictures or touches upon each of them in order as they lie. *I am hitherto, say you, constrained to contain my thoughts in the following compass.*

*First, I know Spirits best by their Virtus vitalis Formalis Una-Trina.* But here I demand how do you know that this *Virtus Vitalis Formalis Una-Trina*, does belong to Spirit and not to Matter, unless you have an Antecedent Notion of Spirit distinct from Matter, and know the nature of Matter also so distinctly, and the Operations of that *Virtus Vitalis Formalis*, that you can conclude them one Repugnant to another? Otherwise, though you find that *Virtus Vitalis Formalis* in a Subject, you know not whether the Principle be *Material* or *Spiritual*, from whence it is, or in which it resides.

Secondly, *I hold, say you, that of created Spirits Substantia, as notifying a Basis Realis, must be the Conceptus*

tus Fundamentalis. This is sound and unexceptionable so far as I can discern. Whence it is evident, that the Soul being a Spirit, and a Spirit substance, they that hold the Soul to be *ex Traduce*, must hold, that a substance may be *ex Traduce*: Which that similitude of a Lamp lighted at a Lamp does not reach, as I noted above. And what difficulties there are in the Parents Soul shedding part of it self, to the producing the Childs Soul, I intimated above.

Thirdly, *This word Immaterial*, say you, *signifying nothing but a Negation, and Materia being by many Ancients used in the same sense that we do Substantia*, I usually lay by the words. The reason of the first I conceive not so weighty. For a Negative Particle in composition with a word that denotes imperfection, implies positiveness and perfection, as in *Infinite*, *Immortal*, and the like; these remove the imperfections in *Finiteness* and *Mortality*, and imply something positive of a better nature. And so does *Immaterial* remove the Imperfections of Discernibility and Impenetrability, and implies the contrary. As for the reason of the second avoidance; *Materia* indeed may be used in such a sense with the Ancients, as *Subiectum* has in Logick, or *Substantia*, *quatenus substat Accidentibus*; but as it is precisely defined, *Ens per se subsistens*, that *ὕλη* or *Materia* is put in lieu of *Substantia*, in that Adequate sense, I believe it is not easie to give an Example. But here I mainly inquire, since the Definition of *Substantia*, and the Definition of *Materia* is so well known in the learned World, why you will use *Substantia* which is but the *Genus* of the other, in lieu of *Materia*, or of the other Species of *Substantia*, which is *Immaterial* or *Spiritual*, when this is more certain and distinct, unless it be out of a shieness to pronounce to what subject, whether Material or Immaterial such properties or operations do belong, or whether there be any such distinction really and properly, as Body and Spirit in the Created Universe. But you know best this your self.

Fourthly,

Fourthly, *I hold to the distinction*, say you, *between Natures or Substances, Active and Passive.* But there being no created Substances whatever but what is both *active* and *passive* in some sense or other, this is a distinction that thus far confounds all, distinguishes nothing. But Substance *spiritual* and *material*, are certain indelible Characters of two orders of things specifically different. Which distinct way of Philosophizing is to me more satisfactory than thus to blend and confound the classes of things. This looks as if there were some Paradoxical Mystery under it, which is better let go than over-curiously inquired into.

## S E C T. XV.

*The fifth Particular touching the Purity of Spiritual Substances, and how prone they are that understand not the subtilest Material Substances to consist of Particles to think what is really Material, to be Spiritual.*

**F**ifthly, *I distinguish*, say you, *Spiritual Substances as such, by the Purity of their Substances besides the formal differences.* I suppose you mean by the *Purity*, the Subtily and Tenuity of their Substances. As the Interpreter of Trismegist's *Pamander*, cap. 12. renders τὸ λεπτομέρεσάον ἢ ὕλης. *Portionem purissimam materiae. Purissimae materiae portio Aer, Aeris Anima, Animæ Mens, Mentis denique Deus.* The Greek is, Ἐστὶν ἓν ἢ μὲν ὕλης τὸ λεπτομέρεσάον, αἷρ, αἴθερ δὲ ψυψή, ψυχῆς δὲ νῆς, νῆς δὲ Θεός. And yet λεπτομέρεα, signifies properly the subtility, Tenuity, or smallness of Parts or Particles of which a thing consists. Which yet the Translator calls *Purity*, but I am very well assured, that your *Purity* of Spiritual Substances is not such as you conceive consists of Particles, because you do not admit that Hypothesis no more than Judge *Hales*.

Which is a shrewd invitation to one to deem what is really



really *Material* to be *Spiritual*, when it is not, meerly because it is conceived to be one *continued* subtil Substance. But a man would be loth to admit a congeries of Atomes, be they never so small or subtil, to be a Spirit, no more than he would admit the Powder of some crass Body to be a Spirit, which was so palpably a Body before. *For magis and minus non variant speciem*, as that Scholastick *Maxim* has it.

## SECT. XVI.

*The sixth Particular. That all created Spirits are in some sort Passive; That that Spissitude which is given to Spirits by the Psychopyrists Antagonist argues a Spirit to be Immaterial rather than Material; That Body sometimes has a less gross signification than Matter; And in what sense the Psychopyrist seems to allow created Spirits to be Incorporeal; And what might be the chief ground of this mistake.*

**S**ixthly, Yet, say you, *I doubt not but all created spirits are somewhat passive, quia Influxum causæ primæ recipiunt, and you grant them Spissitude and Extension, which signifies as much as many mean that call them Material.* That is to say, if I rightly understand you, all created Spirits, be they never so pure and refined, yet are not so much transpiritualized from the condition of Matter, but that they are *passive* in respect of the first cause, and his influence on them, which I shall easily admit also in the highest degree of created Spirits in my sense, which are most properly and really such. To which, *viz.* To all created Spirits, though I grant *Spissitude* and *Extension*, yet the former is granted in such a sense that it signifies only more substance within less compass, but no hardness or crassness accrewing from the Reduplication of the same substance into a narrower compass. So that it is as much *Spiritual* as before, and does not herein symbolize

bolize with Matter, but approves it self contrary thereto, Matter implying *Impenetrability* of parts, but this *Penetrability*: And as for *Extension*, that, in it self, has nothing of Materiality in it, there being *Metaphysical Extension* as well as *Metaphysical Numerality*, which belong to *Entia quatenus Entia*, there being no *Ens* or Being devoid of all Amplitude, or not capable to make a second, third, fourth, &c. in Number. Wherefore if those men mean no more by these words of *spissitude* and *extension* in Spirits than I do, and yet call Spirits *Material*, I must take the leave to say, that in my Judgment they miscale them.

But custom, say you, having made *Materia*, but especially *Corpus*, to signifie only such grosser substance as the three passive Elements have, I yield so to say, that Spirits are not Corporeal or Material. That *Corpus* does not always signifie more Crasly than *Materia*, but mere Tridimension Metaphysical or Mathematical, is apparent from that expression of some of the *Platonists* who call that space in which the Mundane Bodies move, and which *Democritus* and *Epicurus* termed τὸ κενόν, they call it, I say, Σῶμα ἀϋλον an *Immaterial Body*, but to have called it *Immaterial matter*, had been a contradiction. Whence is intimated that *Matter* Fundamentally and Specifically, sounds more crasly than *Body*. But we will not contend about words; that which is most observable here is this, that you seem to concede or imply, that no created Spirits are in any other sence to be esteemed *Incorporeal* or *Immaterial*, but in such as supposes them of not so crass a consistency as those three passive Elements are, Earth, Water, Air. As if *Fire* and *Aether*, which are far thinner than Air, were *Immaterial* and *Incorporeal* Beings, nor any other created Beings to be said to be *Immaterial* or *Incorporeal* in any other sence than they, namely, for the Tenuity or Subtilty of their Substance.

Which opinion, though I have known pious and intelligent persons to have been of, I look upon as a grand

grand mistake arising from another false supposition or surmise, namely, that the Bodies of the World do not consist of small minute parts of matter, and that Water, and Air, and Æther, and Fire, are each of them a continued Substance, not a congeries of contiguous Particles that make up such fluid Substances. This I say seems the Fundamental error of such as Philosophize according to your mode: Which first error if they had not swallowed down, they could not so easily have imbibed this second, *viz.* That there are no created Substances Incorporeal in any other sense than Æther or Fire may be said to be Incorporeal, namely, as being freed from that crasiness or grossness that the three passive Elements seem to have.

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### SECT. XVII.

*Reasons why the Atomick Philosophy is to be preferred before that of the Psychopyrist. And whence he may have sufficient instruction to assure him of so concerning a Truth.*

**B**UT here we two do very much disagree: For I conceive that all Bodies consist of Atomes or little Particles of Matter; The more hard and consistent Bodies, as Stones, Iron, and the like, of Particles some way, something more firmly continued one to another; but in fluid Bodies, such as Water, Air, Æther, and Fire, of Particles meerly contiguous, and in some motion one by another. And this way of Philosophy I think I have good reason to embrace before any other. First, because in this industrious and searching Age it is most universally received by free and considering Philosophers. And this is that *seculum Philosophicum* in which knowledge should abound according to the prediction of *Daniel*.

Secondly, This mode of Philosophy is the most useful  
for



for the best ends, and serves to support the main parts of natural Religion the best; namely, the Existence of God, of *Genii* or Angels, and the Immortality of the Soul. For it being so absurd at the first sight, that a *Congeries* or heap of Particles or Atomes should be capable of those most noble Functions of Imagination, Memory, Understanding, nay of Sense or Personality, were it not for this aukward Conceit of Air, and Æther, and Fire being continued Substances, and no congeries of Particles, Men would immediately be led into a necessary belief of Spiritual Substance properly so called, and then all the main Articles of Natural Religion would go down glib and easie. But to deny that such liquid Bodies consist of Particles, deprives us of some of the most considerable aids that Philosophy affords against Atheism and Epicurism.

Thirdly, This mode of Philosophy seems to be the most ancient (and *antiquissimum quodque verissimum*) nay to have been the old *Moschical* or *Mosaical* Philosophy, as may appear out of what I have writ in the *Appendix* to the Defence of my *Cabbala Philosophica*, cap. 1. sect. 8.

And fourthly, and lastly, And which is of most moment to Philosophick Spirits, this Doctrine of Bodies consisting of Particles, and that their modification and motion, or fixation, exhibits to our perception all the sensible Phænomena of the Universe, is demonstrable to any unprejudiced Reason. Which would be too long here to make out; but I refer you to my first Epistle to *V. C.* sect. 6. to my first *Adnotamentum* upon Judge *Hales* his *Difficiles Nuge*, to the 12th Section of my *Examinatio Philosophematum Eruditi Authoris Difficilium Nugarum*, &c. Which whole Treatise touching the *Essentie Media*, which that worthy Person would bring up, and the manner of *Rarefaction* and *Condensation*, as also his nine objections against the *Spirit of Nature*, with my Answers (all which are not passing seven pages in Folio) if you have leisure and patience attentively to read and

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consider,

consider, I should hope that Discourse with the other places of my Writings abovenamed, may have the good hap to undeceive you, and bring you into a sense of things more satisfactory to your own Mind and Reason than you have fallen into yet. And it is worth the while for a Man to be undeceived in that point, and to be rationally assured, that Earth, and Water, and Air, and other Bodies of the Universe, do consist of Particles, for the reasons I above intimated. But you proceed.

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### SECT. XVIII.

*The seventh Particular, touching the nature of Fire. The Pſychopyriſts wiſh that Fire were better ſtudied, with his Antagoniſts Wiſh added thereto, That Water were better ſtudied. A clear proof chiefly out of Des-Cartes, that Water conſiſts of certain long, flexible, and tough Particles, which is a fair Inducement to believe that other Bodies conſiſt of Particles alſo.*

**S**eventhly, ſay you, *Though I run not into the exceſs of Ludov. le Grand, de Igne, nor of Teleſius or Patricius, I would Ignis were better ſtudied.* As for *Le Grand, Teleſius, and Patricius*, what they hold touching Fire I have not had the occaſion to obſerve, but it ſeems even according to your own Judgment, they Philoſophize ſomething extravagantly therein, which makes me the leſs concerned to look after them, they being diſallowed by one that ſeems to think ſo over-magnificently of *Fire* himſelf.

But now whereas you wiſh that *Fire* were better ſtudied than it is, I alſo wiſh (and yet not out of any humour or ſpirit of contradiction to oppoſe you) that *Water* were better ſtudied than it is, and that that Hydroſtatical experiment of the Wooden Rundle ariſing from the bottom of a Bucket of Water, the Water in the mean  
time

time over it actually weighing it may be one or two hundred pounds weight, continually perceptible by the unintermitted stretch of the Rope or Weight upon the hand, one may put under the bottom of the Bucket; I say I wish this experiment of Water were well weighed and considered. Of what importance it is, and how firmly it demonstrates an Immaterial Being or Spirit, that moves the matter of the World, I have intimated to you above, and how none have been yet able to evade the Evidence of the Demonstration, that there must be something *Immaterial* endued with Properties above any matter, distinct from the Water and Rundle, and Penetrating them both, that causes that marvellous Phænomenon.

Moreover I would not only have such experiments as these considered, but I would have the very *Nature of Water* well sifted and studied. And to any one that has that impartial curiosity in him that he will study the nature of Water as well as of Fire, I would commend to him the reading of *Des-Cartes* his *Meteors*. Where with incomparable evidence he makes out, That Water consists of long flexible Particles, which joined together in a more moderate creeping motion contiguously one by another, are the Phænomenon of Water, but being more swiftly agitated as they are in an *Aolipyla* set over the Fire with some Water in the bottom of it, these Aqueous Particles raised out of the Water and put upon a whirling motion, playing as it were at quarter-staff one with another in that part of the belly of the *Aolipyla* that has only Air, they contending thus for more space, burst out of the orifice of the *Aolipyla*, and give the Phænomenon of a very sensible, if not a violent Wind.

That they are exhaled thus, as from the Water in the *Aolipyla*, by vertue of the Fire, so from the Sea and Rivers, and other moist places, by vertue of the heat of the Sun. That according to certain measures of motion or rest, and nearness, and remoteness from the Earth,



they cause Mists or Clouds. That certain numbers of them cluttering more close together in a warm Air, cause drops of Rain, but in a more cold, Snow or Hail. And that Water by strong cold is frozen into Ice, is apparent to all. Which is therefore a considerable firm consistency of such kind of Aqueous Particles, that otherwise remaining still Aqueous Particles, take upon them the form not only of Clouds, Snow, and Rain, but also of blustering Winds, that whirling motion being imparted unto them.

These, methinks, are Indications sufficient, that Water is a Body consisting of oblong, flexible Particles, which may be dissevered by heat; and as the Ice, though a firm Body, is melted thereby into that fluid Body we call Water, so this Water may have its parts so relaxed, as to be rarefied into Vapours, and those Vapours so agitated, that they get the form of Wind. And amongst other things that hit so handsomly, it is also observable, that their easily being drawn out of a wet Cloth exposed to the Air or Fire, when it is hard to get Oyl or Grease out so, argues, that they are long, smooth, flexible parts, whereas those of Oyl are more ramose, and entangled with the Cloth, and among themselves.

A man of any Nose or natural sagacity in Philosophy cannot but smell out the meaning of this, namely, That Water must needs consist of such Particles as these, which *Des-Cartes* has described; and that it is not one equally continued Body, but, though each long Particle be strongly continued in it self, yet they are but contiguous in a manner in Water, though pretty firmly continuous in Ice. But if they were alike continuous all over in Water, that is, no more in one part than another, they might pass the least pores, and like the Sun-beams, at least with some force added, strain themselves through Glasse. Which shews plainly, that Water is not one alike continued Body, but consists of long Particles, each being tough, as I may say, as well as flexible in it self, but they are easily separable each from the other. And

we

we finding this so plainly discoverable in Water, if we be not over-affectedly shie and timorous, how can we well abstain from concluding all other things, as well as Water, especially if they be reduceable to a fluidity, to consist of some kind of Particles or other? And this, I think, is the genuine Result of our diligently studying the Nature of Water.

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S E C T. XIX.

*The Advantage of studying, and well understanding of Water, for the better understanding of Fire; and that the Phenomenon of Fire is from the motion of certain Particles, as well as that of Water and Vapours out of a Cauldron.*

**A**ND having dived so deep into the Myltery of Water, let us now see whether we have not brought up a Key for the easier opening the nature of Fire, which I grant is to be studied also. And this we may very conveniently do by Candle light. For the Fire and Flame in a lighted Candle, is much what of the same nature with all other Fire. Here therefore let us observe, that as Ice before, which seems of a firm consistence, was first resolved into Water, and that Water into Vapours, &c. That here, I say, also the fixed Tallow, which answers to the frozen Ice, is resolved first into a kind of fluid Oyl or Fat, answering to the Water, and after into a sort of visible Reek, if we may so call that which is so bright and splendid; a certain kind of Particles loosened from the Tallow or Wax, which consists of them, being put into motion, as it is in Vapours. It is manifest hence, that Flame is nothing but such a kind of Particles, put into such a kind of motion different from that of Water, and in a different manner affecting or modifying the *medium*, whence is that appearance to our Eye we call *Flame*, which is but a more close, but  
P 3 bright

bright Vapour or Reek. And thus is the whole Candle by degrees dissolved into Particles, nor is it the same individual Flame, any more than the Water that runs thorough such a Pipe continually, till all the Water be run out, is the same individual Water all the time.

So that we see the studying of *Water* will make us conceive the nature of *Fire* the better. And gives us to understand, that it is nothing but such a kind of motion and particles that so modify the *Medium* of our sight, that such a Phænomenon appears to us as we call Fire or Flame. *Flame*, when the accended Particles are volatile, but *Fire*, when they are more fixt, as in the Wick of a Candle when the Flame is gone, or in red-hot Iron. Where the parts of the Iron, not at all volatile (as in Wax, Wood, and Tallow, and the like) yet are smartly vibrated against the *Medium* of our sight, and cause the Phænomenon of *Fire*. I have studied the nature of Fire with diligence and seriousness, and yet I profess I can make no more of it than thus. But we go on.

## S E C T. XX.

*A close compacted account of the nature of a Spirit from Fire, made by the Psychopyrist, and deduced by his Antagonist into seven Propositions.*

**B**UT this room, say you, will not serve me to say what I think of it, viz. of *Fire*: Light and Fire are rooting objects to humane sense, which caused the generality of the *Pagan* World to worship the *Sun* for the *Supremum Numen*, and brought them into that gross error in Religion, and we must have a care, lest Idolizing the Phænomenon of *Fire* too much, it bring us also into errors in Philosophy. But you hold on; But in brief, he that knoweth that *Ignis* is a Substance whose form is the *Potentia activa movendi, illuminandi, calefaciendi*, these as received in Gross passive Bodies, being but their Accidents,  
all



all but the Igneous substance in act operating upon them, and conceives of Spirits but as *Ignis eminenter*, that is, of a purer substance than *Ignis* is, which we best conceive of, next the formal vertue, by its similitudes, I think knows as much as I can reach of the Substance of created Spirits.

Though you thought you were straitened in room, yet methinks you have given a Specimen of a very dexterous faculty in contriving so much into so little a compass. Whereby I think I am inabled to conceive your full meaning deduceable as I suppose into these following Propositions.

First, That Fire is a Substance whose form is an Active power of motion, Light and Heat.

Secondly, That the Motion, Light, and Heat, that appear in gross passive Bodies, are but Accidents all of them of the said Bodies, viz. such as in a Fire-stick, Candle, and the like.

Thirdly, That there is an Igneous Substance in act operating upon the abovesaid gross passive Bodies distinct from the said Bodies.

Fourthly, That a Spirit is to be conceived of but as *Ignis eminenter*.

Fifthly, That this *Ignis eminenter* is a purer Substance than *Ignis*.

Sixthly, That this purer Substance than *Ignis* next to its formal vertue is best conceived of, by the similitudes it bears with the aforesaid *Ignis*.

Seventhly, and lastly, That he that conceiveth thus of created Spirits, knows as much of their Substance as you can reach.

## S E C T. XXI.

*Certain Queries upon the foregoing Propositions to find what the Psychopyrift would be at, and how much nearer we are to the true knowledge of a Spirit by his illustrations thereof from Fire.*

I Shall now crave leave to make some Queries touching these Propositions; As whether in the first Proposition, you mean by an Active Power, a Power always exerting it self into Act, so that this Fire is always moving, enlightening, and hot, and in such sort, that it is not only these *effectivè*, but *formaliter*, else why should it be called *Ignis*? And that this Query is to be answered in the Affirmative, seems manifest from the second and third Propositions, they implying an *Igneous* Substance acting upon those substances or gross passive Bodies, that we call *Fire*. Now if this *Igneous* Substance be really Substance, and not one of the *Substantia Media*, according to Judge *Hales* his way of Philosophizing, which I have sufficiently confuted in my *Examination*, I demand here what is this new *Igneous* Substance never heard of before, Is it Material or Immaterial? If it be *Immaterial* it is not Fire; if it be Material, a *Material Fire* distinct from the Fire of the Flame of a Candle, or from that of a Firestick, or red-hot Iron, there is no more ground or reason for, than for a *Material Water* distinct from, but in the Water of a Well, a River, or the Sea, but the very matter it self of the Water, even of that which we call Water, is modified into this Phænomenon of Water, and in like reason the matter of Fire, even of that which we call Fire, is modified into the Phænomenon of Fire, without any other Material *Igneous* Substance operating upon it. This, to the unprejudiced, I think will appear very plain and rational.

The next Query is upon the fourth Proposition, which is meant by *Ignis eminenter*. For if it be to exclude the conceit

conceit of a Spirits being *Ignis formaliter*, and that it is only effectively *Ignis*, God may thus be said to be *Ignis eminenter*, as he may all things else, according to the *Orphick* Theology. But the fifth and the sixth Propositions seem to favour the other sense. That a Spirit is *Formaliter Ignis*, but only a more pure *Ignis*, that is of a more tenuous Substance, as was above observed, than that very Igneous Substance mentioned in the third Proposition. But this I profess to me is a *Fire* without *Light*, nor enables me to conceive a jot better of the Nature of a Spirit, than if I were without it.

For the gross visible Fire is nothing but accensed Particles, or such a sort of Particles put into such a kind of motion; and how does it appear, that there either is any other Fire but this, or if there were, that it is any other than more subtil Particles so and so moved? So that in all this Fire and Heat we want Light to discover the real nature of a Spirit. And yet the sixth Proposition says, that a Spirit next to the formal Vertue, is best known by the similitude it bears with *Ignis* in the sense of the third Proposition. So that if we knew that *Ignis*, it were only a Metaphorical illustration therefrom. Which is no good mode of defining the Nature of things, but as I intimated above, the Nature of this *Ignis* can be no other than a more subtil consistency of Particles, if it be any thing at all, and therefore very inept to set off the Nature of a Spirit, which is *Ens unum per se & non per aliud*, as all must grant that grant there is any such thing as a Spirit properly so called. Wherefore I much doubt of the truth of the last Proposition, that he that thus conceives of created Spirits, knows as much of their Substance as you can reach. For I conceive you undervalue your own cognitive Faculties in that Assertion, which I cannot believe but can pierce further than so, as haply I may discover anon; In the mean time we pass to what follows.



## S E C T. XXII.

*Of the Greek Fathers dividing Fire into Intellectual, Sensitive, and Vegetative, and in what sense they are to be understood, and how the Mode of the Ancient Philosophy was Ænigmatical and Hebraical.*

**A**N D the Greek Fathers, say you, that called Spirits Fire, and distinguished Ignem per Formas, into Intellectual, Sensitive, and Vegetative, or Visible Fire, (as it is in Aere Ignito) allowing an incomprehensible purity of Substance in the higher above the lower, (as in Passives, Air hath above Water) I think did speak tolerably, and as informingly as the Notions of Penetrability and Indivisibility, though perhaps these also may be useful. If the words and places of these Fathers had been cited, I would more distinctly and particularly have made answer to them, but now my answer must be more undeterminate and general.

And first, I say, Though there is a great deference to be given to the Fathers in things that lay within their Sphere, yet that some of them were none of the best Philosophers, is apparent from their making the Earth flat not Spherical, and their denying Antipodes. But then in the second place, supposing some of them did Philosophize at the rate above described, dividing Fire into Intellectual, Sensitive, and Vegetative, I would here demand in what sense they here spoke, whether they spoke not of the Immediate Instrument of Operation in Intellectual, Sensitive, and Vegetative Creatures, which I can easily agree, that it is at least, most-what, *Igneous* or *Æthereal*, the Vehicles of Angels being acknowledged to be such; Or, whether they did not speak Symbolically *ex Destinatio*, or at least using, out of Ignorance, the Symbolical expression of the Ancient

cient Philosophers for the proper, (who Symbolically called a Spirit *Fire*, yea, God himself, who is the most pure Spirit conceivable) whether it was not from thence that these Fathers incautiously divided Fire, as if it were a real Spirit, into Intellectual, Sensitive, &c. For that the ancient Philosophers spoke *Ænigmatically*, *Clemens Alexandrinus* takes express notice, ὅτι τρέπῃ παρ' αὐτοῖς ἡ φιλοσοφίας ἑβρεϊκὴς καὶ αἰνιγματώδης. In which saying of his it is implied, that not only their way of Philosophizing was *Ænigmatical* or *Symbolical*, but that also the *Hebraical* Philosophy was such.

### SECT. XXIII.

*That the Symbolical or Ænigmatical mode of the ancient Philosophy caused marvellous fond mistakes in them that were not aware of it, as in Aristotle and others that took the Cortex for the Kernel.*

**A**ND the ignorance of that Mode of the old Philosophers, has caused ridiculous opinions. As from the ancient *Mosaick Cabbala's* setting off the nature of things by *Numbers*, those unskilled in the mystery, have afterwards made Numbers the very *constitutive* principle of things. And *Aristotle*, when as *Parmenides* speaking *Symbolically*, and *Mosaically* declared, that *Fire* and *Earth* were the Principles of all things, which undoubtedly was spoken in reference to the beginning of *Genesis*, where אֵשׁ וָאֶרֶץ are the two Principles of things, to wit, *Spirit* and *Matter*; I say, *Aristotle* is so silly as to take *Parmenides* literally, when as yet himself acknowledges, that *Parmenides* reckoned his *Earth* in the rank of *Non-Entia*, which was impossible for him to have done, unless he had spoke *Symbolically*. These two, *Fire* and *Earth*, are the same with the *Pythagoreans*, φῶς καὶ σκότος, *Light* and *Darkness*, who also had partaken of the *Mosaick Cabbala*. See my Preface-general

general to the second Tome of my Philosophick Writings, Sect. 13. As also the *Appendix* to the *Defence* of my *Philosophick Cabbala*, Cap. 7. Sect. 5. and I hope you will acknowledge I have reason on my side. Wherefore the Fathers using with the ancient Philosophers the name *Ignis* for *Spiritus*, is no warrant, since it may signify Symbolically, for us to think that *Ignis* belongs to the very Nature and Essence of a Spirit.

## SECT. XXIV.

*That the Chaldee and Magick Oracles call not only the Soul but God himself Fire; but that it is not to be understood properly, but Symbolically proved by the Glosses of Michael Psellus and Pletho.*

**T**HAT *Ignis* is put for *Spirit* by the Ancients, is plain over and over again from the *Magick* and *Chaldee* Oracles; (to say nothing here of *Ezechiel's* Vision, where God the Father is represented by *Fire*, which the *Cabbalists* also follow) these Oracles, I say, do not stick to call the highest Deity, from which all things are, *Fire*; which I conceive is very gross and absurd to understand in a proper sense of God. And therefore, both *Pletho* and *Psellus* upon that Oracle, Εἰςὶ πάντα πυρὸς ἐνδὲ ἐκγεγαῶτα, *All things proceed out of one Fire*; The one says, ἐξ ἐνδὲ πυρὸς ἦτοι ἐξ ἐνδὲ θεῷ, *Out of one Fire that is from one God*; and the other, This, says he, is our Doctrine and true. Πάντα γὰρ τὰ ὄντα ἀπὸ μόνου θεοῦ ὑπόστασιν ἔλαβον, *For all things received their being from one God*; Where they rendering πῦρ by Θεός, *Fire* by *God*, they questionless understood God in their proper Philosophical Notion as a pure Immaterial and Intellectual Being, or else they would make his Nature inferiour to that of a Created Spirit: For when a Created Spirit is called *Fire* in those Oracles, as the Soul is expressly termed πῦρ φαινόν, *A shining Fire*; *Pletho* interprets,



pretis, πῦρ φαεινὸν, stripping it out of its Symbolical Cortex, θεία τις εἰσία καὶ νοερά, *A certain Divine and Intellectual Substance* which is here called *Fire* Symbolically, as God himself is, to intimate its affinity with the Divinity it self. And upon the same Oracle, which, at large is,

Ὅτι ψυχὴ πῦρ εἶσα φαεινὸν δαμάμει παλῶς,  
Ἀθάνατος τε μένει καὶ ζωῆς δεσπότις ἐστίν.

The sence of which is, *That the Soul being shining Fire, by the power of the Father, remains Immortal, and the Mistress of Life*: that is, an undisturbed Possessor or Proprietor of Life in her self. Upon this Oracle, I say, *Michael Psellus* Glosses thus, Ἡ ψυχὴ αὐτὸν εἶσα καὶ ἀσώματον πῦρ τῶν σωθέντων ὅλων καὶ τῷ ἐλικῷ σώματι ἐξηρημένον, ἀθάνατος ἐστίν, that is to say, *The Soul being an Immaterial and Incorporeal Fire* (which indeed is to be no Fire, and therefore again assures us, that according to the sence of these Interpreters, God is called Fire only Symbolically) *exempt from all composition, and having nothing of Matter or Body in its Essence, is Immortal*. For, as he says afterward, she having not out of which she is compounded, she has not into which she may be dissolved, and therefore, say I, is Indissoluble and Indiscerpible. Which is the true Notion of a Spirit, and not of any Fire, all which is composed of Particles and dissoluble. I might instance in more places, but the thing is so plain, that it is needless.

Wherefore it is manifest, that though the *Greek Fathers* should run division upon that Symbolical term for a Spirit, viz. *Fire*, and distribute it into Intellectual, Sensitive, and Vegetative, that there is no proof hence that every created Spirit is *Fire*, and not properly a Spirit; that is, such a Substance as is, *Ens unum per se & non per aliud*, and consequently Indiscerpible.

## SECT. XXV.

*Of the Incomprehensible Purity of those Fires that are pretended to be Spirits, and whether the Greek Fathers spoke tolerably in dividing Fire into Intellectual, Sensitive, and Vegetative.*

**B**UT now concerning the Incomprehensible *Purity* of substance in these *Fires* (which must be so many Spirits) one above another, any one of which, I cannot think that you conceive may be so incomprehensibly *Pure*, as to be the Divine Essence it self; I would inquire here (since Flame in the first sense, and obvious to our sight and senses is so apparently, as I have above proved, nothing but such a certain kind of Particles in such a kind of motion) what these several degrees of Purification can amount to more than this, That the Particles will be more subtil and subtil, but as arrand a Congeries of Particles of Matter as before. Which I must confess, to me seems to have no affinity at all with the true Nature of a Spirit. And yet you stick not to declare, that the *Greek Fathers* in dividing *Fire* into Intellectual, Sensitive, and Vegetative, speak *tolerably* and *informingly*. For I will leave out for the present the comparison with that other Notion which to me seems to be more precise and Natural.

Wherefore I must here crave pardon that I shall take the boldness, who have otherwise no mind to differ from any one more than needs, expressly to differ from you in judgment in this cause. For I must pronounce, that as you seem to conceive the Fathers to speak, that is, not *Symbolically*, (or else it is nothing to your purpose) but properly, these Fathers speak neither *tolerably* nor *informingly*, but intolerably and mischievously, dilutely and misinformingly. For is it not an intolerable mischief, that those that should be our Guides in our greatest concerns, such as the assurance of the immortality

talities of our Souls, should broach such Doctrine about the nature of the Soul as should induce Men to believe it Mortal? For if the Soul be really *Fire*, or if you will, a *Light*, how easily is it blown out when it is removed into the open Air out of this Lanthorn of the Body? But if it be Fire not flaming, such as is in red-hot Iron, cannot remove out of the Body, but is extinct in the cold Corps, as the fire in the Iron when it is grown cold. So that the former is the more plausible opinion, that it is, if it be any kind of *Fire*, a kind of a subtil *Flame*, but how can you secure its subsistence, and defend it from the injury of blustering Winds after its *Exit*, you must answer to *Lucretius*, for his objection it was of old, who thus speaks of the Soul *de rerum Natura*, lib. 3.

*Hæc igitur tantis ubi morbis corpore in ipso  
Fæctetur, miserisq, modis distracta labore,  
Cur eandem credis sine corpore in Aere aperto,  
Cum validis ventis ætatem degere posse?*

Which Objection is invincibly strong against such as hold the Human Soul *Fire*, feign it as pure and subtil as you will, as subtil as the *primum Elementum* of *Des-Cartes*, which must still be a Congeries of Atomes. It will be presently overflowed with the *Globuli*, and go out like the last Flame of the Snuff of a Candle; and though its matter be not lost, it will lose its personality by mingling, as other liquid things do, with the rest of its own Element. And so as the Song of the wicked is in the *Wisdom* of Solomon, Chap. 2. *We shall be hereafter as if we had never been: For our life is as smokes and a little spark in the moving of our heart, which being extinguished, our body shall be turned into ashes, and our spirit shall vanish as the soft air.* Air mingled with Air, and as well Fire with Fire, which is as utter a Mortality of the Soul as the *Epicureans* can believe, or the wicked hope for. And yet the making of the Soul *Fire*, induceth the belief of all this, if it be meant *Literally*, not *Symbolically*. And therefore



therefore this form of speech so understood is plainly *mischievous* and *intolerable*, which makes me believe, the *Greek Fathers* did not so understand it, but spake *Symbolically*, or else spake they knew not well and distinctly what.

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## SECT. XXVI.

*Whether the Greek Fathers spake informingly in the above-said division. That Metaphors are to be excluded Definitions, and why. That Ventus and Fumus might as well have been divided into Intellective, Sensitive, and Vegetative, as Fire. And how utterly incapable Fire is of the Plastick power, less haply, than Frost and Cold.*

**A**ND now that you say they speak so *informingly* in calling a Spirit *Fire*, what a dilute and slender information is this, as to the satisfaction of our Reason? Metaphors indeed and Figurative Speeches fill the Sails of our Imaginative faculty the most, and to resemble God to a Consuming Fire and a Glorious Light, may serve the well-intended ends of Religion, and strike greater Terrour, Reverence and Devotion into the Minds of the Vulgar, but proper language is the most becoming sound Philosophy and strict Reason. And when we enquire into the distinct Nature of things, we are to bid adieu to Allusions and Metaphors: for to enquire into the proper Nature of a thing, is to search out the adequate Definition thereof, which is to be done in the most certain and clear terms that are, according to *Aristotle*. And therefore Metaphors are excluded from serving in a Definition, because, *πάν ἀσαφές τὸ κατὰ μεταφορὰν λεγόμενον*, because, *whatever is Metaphorically spoken*, as he has noted in his Topicks, *is obscure and uncertain*. Wherefore, I see not how *informingly* the *Greek Fathers* speak, in using the term, *Fire*, instead

stead of some more proper words to have set out the true Nature of a Spirit; and I must ingenuously declare, that they might have as well divided *Ventus* or *Fumus*, or the Reek of a Cauldron, into Intellectual, Sensitive, and Vegetative, as *Ignis*, for any advantage that *Ignis* has to set out the proper Nature of a Spirit.

The main thing is, that it looks as if there were an *αὐτοκίνησις*, or *Self-moving* in Fire, it being in perpetual motion, but this is a plain fallacy, for the parts of the Flame are not *self-moved*, but they are moved of another: As when you apply a lighted Candle to light another Candle, the parts of the Wick, and Wax, or Tallow, are put into motion by the moved parts of the lighted Candle, and so all the Particles of the Candle, by degrees, are put into motion by the Particles of the present Flame, the Air also assisting, which yet pass away as a River, as I noted above. But if you alledge, that Fire and Flame, as long as it is, is in motion, and so fitly sets out the *Self-Activity* of a Spirit, so, I say, *Fume* and *Reek* as long as they are, are in motion, and so is *Wind* especially, and the more like a Spirit in this regard, it being so hard to find out what gives it its motion, so that it looks more like a Self-moving Being. So little information is there in calling a Spirit *Fire*, more than if it were called *Fume*, or *Reek*, or *Wind*, and therefore the *instruction* must needs be very slender and dilute. And as no body will say, *Fume*, or *Reek*, or *Wind*, is of three kinds, Intellectual, Sensitive, and Vegetative, but at first sight it would appear a meer *Misinformation*, so as certainly, to say that *Fire* is distinguished into these Species, Intellectual Sensitive, and Vegetative, would look like the distribution of a Whole into parts disagreeing with the same Whole, which were a foul *Misinformation* indeed, and contrary to the known Rules of Logick. And this I may be the more bold to aver, because I have up and down in my Writings demonstrated the incapacity of *Matter*, for such Functions as these.

Is *Fire* Intellectual? Certainly then the *Sun* as soon as any, and some *Materialists* would have it so; but I think I have proved sufficiently in my Preface to the *Immortality of the Soul*, the madness and Repugnancy of that opinion. Is *Fire* Sensitive? I have proved in that Treatise, that no Matter whatsoever, whether Fire, Water, or Air, is capable of such Impressions from sensible Objects, as we are conscious to our selves of. And to pretend, that Fire is *Vegetative*, that is to say, *Plastical*, is wonderfully Repugnant to the Nature of it, for whatever Nature is *Plastical*, it is the *Ἐνδελέχεια* (*Endelechia*) of that Body which it does form and organize, and therefore it must *δέειν* as well as *ἐλᾶν*, it must hold together and bind as well as move the Matter, when as the property of *Fire* is only to disperse and consume, for it puts all into an hurry and motion, and that is all that we can rationally conceive that *Fire* can do, when as *Frost* and *Cold* forms pretty Devices and gay Flourishes in Snow and Ice, and on Windows and Doors of Cellars. But it may be you will say, the *Greek* Fathers did not mean *Fire* in my sense, which bears along with it such absurdities; I desire then to know in what sense they understood *Fire*, and if they had not been more informing, if they had defined precisely what they meant by *Fire*, before they would divide it into Intellectual, Sensitive and Vegetative; but if they will say one thing and mean another, they must needs bring the Reader into Errour and *Misinformation*. If they meant *Spirit* they should have said *Spirit*, and if they meant *Spirit* properly so called, they should have declared its Nature, that it was Substance *Immaterial*, or to that sense, before they distributed it into its kinds.

S E C T.



## SECT. XXVII.

*That the Greek Fathers in dividing Fire instead of Spirit into Intellective, Sensitive, and Vegetative, do not speak as informingly as are the Notions of Penetrability, and Indivisibility, and that a Specifick Difference in a Species, implies an opposite Difference thereto, in the opposite Species.*

AND thus I think I have clearly shewn, that the Fathers in dividing *Fire* into Intellective, Sensitive, and Vegetative, do not speak tolerably and informingly: whence it will be a very easie task to shew, that they do not speak as informingly as are the Notions of Penetrability and Indivisibility. For certainly unless the Greek Fathers thought all things that are to be Material, (which there is no likelyhood in the Earth they should, the Greek Philosophy of Pythagoras, Plato, and Aristotle being at hand to instruct them better) if instead of *Fire* they had put *Spirit*, and intimated it to be a Substance Immaterial, they had spoke more perspicuously & more informingly than they did. This I conceive is undeniably true.

And now I appeal to your self, Divisibility and Impenetrability being the known and universally acknowledged Essential Property or Character of Matter or Body, how naturally, or rather, how necessarily the opposite Species to Body, viz. Spirit is found to be Indivisible and Penetrable. As in those two opposite Species under Animal, viz. Homo and Brutum, if it be once acknowledged that Brutum is Animal Irrationale, and that Irrationale is the Specifick difference, its opposite Species Homo must needs be Animal Rationale. This is so plain and convictive, that I cannot here but remind you of your undervaluing your cognitive Faculties, and of my preface, that I should discover that you are able to understand more of the Nature of a Created Spirit, than you did profess in the last of those seven Propositions I above deduced from that Paragraph. For you have gone

thus much further, namely, To the *Penetrability* and the *Indivisibility* belonging Essentially and Inseparably to the Nature of a *Spirit* in general, (which therefore will take in Created Spirits) which you cannot avoid the admitting of, from so clear a method of Demonstration.

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### S E C T. XXVIII.

*That God can create an Indivisible Being, though of a large Metaphysical Amplitude, or else he were not God.*

**A**ND for the possibility of these proper and Essential Attributes of a *Spirit*, I think I have made it good in my short *Discourse of the true Notion of a Spirit*, against all pretended Objections. And the greatest difficulty touching the *Indiscernibility* of a *Spirit*, acknowledged to have a *Metaphysical Amplitude* or Extension, can be none to him that considers how much more easie it is to conceive what is immediately and of its own Essence one to be indiscernible, than how that which is discernible into parts can at all hold together, and acknowledges the Immense Essence of the Deity, which yet is absolutely Indivisible or Indiscernible, and the omnipotence of the same Deity, who therefore can easily create Spirits according to the Image of himself, though with a finite Amplitude, but Indiscernible; that is to say, That he can create a Being, (which in that it is a Being necessarily implies Amplitude in it) which is *Ens unum per se & non per aliud*, and of such an Amplitude as is Indiscernible not upon the account of its smallness, because it can be no smaller, but upon account of the *Immediate union*, or rather *oneness* of its Essence, be it as large as you please.

Otherwise God were only able to create *Metaphysical Monades*, or *Spiritual Points*, answering to the *Physical Points*

Points or *Monades* of Matter; than which to a sagacious and Philosophical Mind, that is thoroughly perswaded of the Divine Omnipotency, nothing can be more absurd or ridiculous. And if you will say, that if he should create such a Spirit with Metaphysical Amplitude, which, though so large, himself cannot divide and sever into parts, he would thereby puzzle his own Omnipotency; the same may be said of the Metaphysical *Monades*, and at this rate he shall be allowed to create nothing, no not so much as Matter, nor himself indeed to be: For that cannot be God from whom all other things are not produced and created.

## S E C T. XXIX.

*How naturally the above-mentioned distribution in the Greek Fathers of Fire into Intellective, Sensitive and Vegetative, belongs to Spirit according to the Definition in the preceeding Discourse of the True Notion of a Spirit: And that the Effects of the kinds of Spirit comprized in that general Definition, are all the Phenomena in the World.*

WHerefore these things being so plain, I conceive it will be no great immodesty in me to hope, that my Definition of a Spirit being this, (an Immaterial Substance Intrinsically indued with life and the faculty of motion) and virtually containing in it, *Penetrability* and *Indiscerpibility*, (for *Immaterial* includes those two as you have seen) will approve it self more *informing* than the defining of a Spirit by *Fire*, which may heat the fancy, and fill the sails of Imagination as I said before, but instructs us little or nothing of the true and proper Notion of a Spirit.

And then it being noted in that Definition, that Life and Motion intrinsically issue from this *Immaterial Substance*, Spirit, here you may see how fitly the *Greek Fathers*



thers division of it (not of Fire) is made into Intellectual, Sensitive, and Vegetative, and what easie and natural sence it will be. Thus I love to Philosophize without Tumour, Pomp, or Metaphors. *Fire* indeed is more Phantasmatical, and the Object of Sence and Fancy, but *Immaterial Substance* more rational, and the Object of our Intellectual Faculties.

But if we love to have all our Faculties furnished and filled with Objects, we may remember that this Definition of a Spirit, *viz. An Immaterial Substance intrinsically indued with Life and a faculty of Motion*, though it make no noise in it self, nor swells the fancy with such glaring Notions as *Fire* and *Light*, yet this Life and Faculty of Motion in this Immaterial Substance distributed into its kinds, represents all the Pageantry of the World, and the Pomp thereof, *Fire* and *Light*, and Clouds and Thunder, and all the Phænomena of Nature, by its actings on the Matter of the Universe; Besides the Intellectual Operations, it performs in the Rational Orders of Being. And part of that Life and Motion comprehended in that general Definition, enables me to write what I write for a more distinct *Information* of you, than you have from those *Greek Fathers*, which seem to have *misinformed* you touching the Nature of a Spirit, if you have not misunderstood them, and so misinformed your self.

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### SECT. XXX.

*The great Usefulness of the Notion of the Indivisibility,  
or Indiscerpibility of Spirits.*

AND now I have thus cleared up things, I am persuaded, if you were again to write your Judgment of my Description of a Spirit, you would not say of *Penetrability* and *Indivisibility*, *Perhaps these also may be useful*, but you would come off roundly, and with assurance

assurance declare, that they are not only *useful* but *true*: For in my judgment, unless they be *true*, they are not *useful*. For I am for no *Pia fraudes*, but for plain dealing, and for transacting all things *Bona fide*, as well in *Spirituals* as *Temporals*. But that they are *true*, I think I have sufficiently made good already, and hinted something before of their *usefulness*.

For unless this be the Nature of a Spirit to be *Indiscernible*, Philosophy affords no succour to Natural Religion, nor contributes any thing to the assurance of our Personal Subsistence after the dissolution of this Mortal Body. But the Soul being *Fire*, will mingle with the subtil Elements of *Des-Cartes*, as sure as if it were merely Breath, it would vanish into the soft Air, as I noted above. But being acknowledged an *Immaterial* Being, such as I have described, and intrinsically indued with Life and Motion, it is able by its *Constrictive* faculty, or *Statick* power, to maintain its Vehicle against the most blustering Winds, and to keep it self from being blown into pieces, and dispersed like Fume or Reek, and from being extinct like a Candle taken out of the Lantern, and committed to the uncertain blasts of the moveable Air. This for the *Usefulness* of the *Indiscernibility* of Spirits.

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### S E C T. XXXI.

*The necessary Usefulness of the Notion of the Penetrability of Spirits.*

**A**ND now for the *Penetrability* of *Spirits*, it is also plainly not only useful, but necessary, that they penetrate the matter, else how could they be the *Ἐνδελέχεια* *Endelechia* thereof? and inform it and actuate it? And if they could not penetrate their own parts, how could they be contracted so as to be commensurate to the Body of a small *Fœtus* in the Womb,

which, as I have heard from some skilful Midwives, have sometimes been found as little as a Bee, and yet in humane shape and form. But unless we will patch up a Soul by pieces to enable it to be commensurate to the Body when it is come to Mans stature, that very Soul, nothing added to it that was contracted into so small a compass before, after expands it self by degrees to the amplitude of the grown Body of a Man. Which therefore plainly implies the *Penetrability* of Spirits, as well as sets out the *usefulness* thereof. But it is sufficient to touch only upon these things.

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### S E C T. XXXII.

*That Logical Matter and Form are nothing but Indeterminata Amplitudo and Differentia, the two Incomplex Principles of Ens quatenus Ens, and therefore imply no Physical Materiality.*

**W**E are now come near the conclusion of your Letter, but I will take in your short *Postscript*, before I consider that. You make a Spirit, say you, to be Ens, ideoque unum, verum, &c. And that True denotes the Answerableness of the Thing to its own proper Idea, and implies a right Matter and Form duly conjoined. Upon this you raise this Question, Do not you here make Spirits Material? But no doubt, say you, whether to be called Material or Substantial, the Form is not an adjoined Thing, but the Form of a simple Essence is but an Inadequate Conceptus, making no Composition. To this I answer, That I do not make Spirits Material in any sense derogatory to their Nature and Perfections. And whereas I speak of right Matter and Form, if you had observed, that that Matter and Form I there speak of, is a Matter and Form that belongs to *Ens quatenus Ens*, you could not imagine that this would infer any Physical Materiality in Spirits, because it is Matter in a most general Notion prescinded from



from all particular kinds of Being whatsoever, and therefore belongs to Beings truly *Immaterial* as well as *Material*.

It is only *Materia* and *Forma Logica*, that is there meant, nor is the Form adjoined in a Physical sense to the Matter, unless where the Form and Matter are substances really distinct as the Soul of Man and his Body. But they are called also Matter and Form, though they be only mentally distinct in some other Beings; and consequently can be only mentally said to be adjoined the one to the other, as if they had been once two, when as they are really but one thing. As you say well, the Form of any simple Essence is but an Inadequate *Conceptus* of the Essence, and makes no Physical composition. See my *Enchiridion Metaphysicum*, cap. 2. sect. 7, 8. and you will understand there what I mean by Logical Matter and Form, which are the Incomplex Principles of *Ens quatenus Ens*, and are nothing else but *Indeterminata Amplitudo* and *Differentia*. So that I need no longer here insist on this matter.

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### SECT. XXXIII.

*The occasion of the Psychopyrists Letter, and this answer of the Author of the foregoing Discourse of the True Notion of a Spirit, and what hopes he conceived of undeceiving the Psychopyrist by engaging him to peruse that Treatise.*

**N**OW for the Conclusion it self, wherein you crave pardon for these curt Expressions of thoughts, which I desired concerning the Description of a Spirit. To this, I say, that your Expressions are not so curt, but that you have sufficiently conveyed your mind to me; If I be not much mistaken; And therefore pardon is not so properly due to you as thanks; and because you had a mind I should peruse some Notions of yours which you had

had entertained, to know how near mine and they would meet, I desired you attentively and considerately first to peruse that brief *Discourse* of mine touching the *true and genuine Notion of a Spirit*. Whereby I conceived you would easily discern what agreement or difference there were in our Conceptions touching this matter. And I having writ so clearly and distinctly, so digestedly and coherently, as I thought, touching this Subject in that Treatise, I thought it also hopeful that you would fully discern Truth to be on my side, and that there were not, nor needed to be, any other Notion of a Spirit in general, than what I have so evidently and orderly set out, and so carefully defended against all imaginable Allegations or Pretensions.

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#### SECT. XXXIV.

*The Impediments to true Knowledge; and the full Agreement of the Author of the foregoing Discourse with the Learned Psychopyrist in the last clause of his Letter, viz. If God make us truly holy, we shall quickly know more to our satisfaction.*

**B**UT I leave every one to think as well as he can in Philosophical speculations, being assured, that every one would get to the Truth if he could reach it; It being an imperfection and blemish to him to be found in error; Though I question whether all men take the best course to attain to truth, but they would gladly have it, if they might part with nothing for it. Not with their beloved Laziness, nor with their preconceived opinions, which they have a fondness for, because they have chanced so long ago to espouse them, and therefore cannot abide to think of a Divorce; not with their sensual pleasures or worldly-mindedness, nor with that sweet conceit or pleasing presumption, that what they opine is more like to be true than the opinion of  
any

any other man, though they bring no plain demonstration for it.

For to come to the last clause of all in your Letter, which is the best, and in which I most firmly and heartily agree with you, which is this, *If God make us truly holy we shall quickly know more to our satisfaction.* I think that the Purification of the Soul from all uncleanness of Flesh and Spirit, is absolutely requisite for him that would successfully Philosophize, especially in Metaphysical or Theological Speculations. And I commend your Judgment in that you say, *If God make us truly holy.* By vertue of which *true* holiness, I suppose we shall be freed, not only from the dulness of *Superstition*, and bluster of *Enthusiasm*, from the prejudices of both our *Education* and *Complexion*, and from the unbridledness and impetuosity of our own *Self-will* and desires in things that look not so commendably on it; but also from any *vain* desire of *knowledge it self*, which bears such a fair and commendable shew with it; We shall, I say, condemn our selves as of a great folly and miscarriage, especially in contemplations Metaphysical, Theological and Moral, if we find such a false appetite in our selves in those things, as that we would *know* meerly to *know*, or (which is worse) to be *known*.

Which is no sound constitution of mind, nor becoming an *holy* Man, who has no false appetite to knowledge, but only such as an healthful and temperate Man has to his Meat, to eat such, and so much as inables Nature rightly and firmly to perform all the Functions of the natural Life; So all desire of Knowledge in those Contemplations I spoke of before, that exceeds the only due end of such Knowledge, which is to corroborate our Faith in GOD, and in his Son *JESUS CHRIST*, and to confirm our Belief of a Glorious Immortality after this Life, to promote true Devotion, Mortification, and Regeneration, or the Renovation of our lapsed natures into the lost Image of God; All desire of knowledge



knowledge that tends not to this end, is but a Disease with a *truely* holy Man, nor relishes better with him, than to feed on Chaff, Feathers, or dry Straw, relisheth with a natural Man.

And we may be sure, he whose appetite is thus sound and regular, and desires no knowledge but such as is the real Food of the new Birth in him, shall not fail to draw in all wholesome and useful knowledge from the Fountain of all true Wisdom, even from the Father of Lights, from whom is every good and perfect Gift. Whenas a false Appetite to knowledge, which only feeds our Pride, will expose us, besides all Fortuitous Errours, to the ludicrous impostures of vagrant Spirits, that sport themselves with the vain curiosities of deluded Mankind. Not to add that a Man thus trifles away that pretious time which is much better spent in examination of the sincerity of our own Hearts, and in earnest breathings toward God, that he would be pleased to free us from that Bondage of Corruption we find ourselves held in, and would perfect the new Birth, and consummate the Image of his Son in us, than in teasing of unnecessary notions into useles and endless Distinctnesses and Multiplicities, and such as nothing at all contribute to our great and everlasting Concern. I say I am perfectly of your Mind in this, That he that is thus *truely* Holy, will soonest know more to his satisfaction: For he that feeds the young Ravens that call upon him, will never suffer his own Birth to starve for want of due Food in the Soul of Man. And he that thus Philosophizes, affecting no Knowledge out of Curiosity, but only to feed and strengthen the Divine Birth in him, will haply know with ease more than himself had the Curiosity to know, and more than the Curiosity of those that are out of this way, are ever likely to be in a capacity to reach to of themselves, or to receive when offered to them from others.

This

This will not down with all Men, but as many as are  
perswaded of it, it is their duty to improve it to their  
present satisfaction here, and everlasting comfort here-  
after. I did not think to be thus large when I began  
my Letter, but one thing has drawn on another I know  
not how; but I hope nothing has passed my Pen but  
what may be useful to a serious and intelligent Reader.  
Wherefore I leave all to your candid consideration, and  
rest, &c.

*Jan*

~~I have been thinking of writing to you for some time but have been so busy that I could not find time to do so. I am now at the college and have many things to attend to. I hope to write to you again soon.~~

*of my name & of my family  
for I am the same and if my  
name*

Sadu-